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THE CAREER OF JOSÉ BATLLE Y ORDÓÑEZ

Superficial critics are wont to declare that the Hispanic American republics really have no history worthy of the name. The task of the historian, according to them, is finished when he has adequately investigated the colonial period and the wars of independence. Everything that has happened since these periods properly belongs to the domain of politics, sociology, and economics. What appear at first sight to be great historical movements generally resolve themselves on closer scrutiny into sordid rivalries of political or military leaders selfishly struggling for power. And when we approach the present day, dearth of reliable material and absence of perspective are formidable obstacles to an objective treatment of events. It must be admitted that these charges contain a modicum of truth, at least when applied to certain of the Spanish American republics. On the other hand no serious student will deny that in the case of a number of these states great transformations in their political and social life have taken place during the past few decades. Outstanding and dynamic personalities have left their mark on the evolution of their respective countries. History has been made and is in the making. Historical investigators therefore who are deterred from studying the recent history of Hispanic America because of the difficulties just mentioned fail to rise to the full measure of their obligations or opportunities.

It is in the light of these considerations that the writer of this article wishes to pass briefly in review the life and

achievements of a great Uruguayan statesman and leader who died on October 20 of last year.

To write the biography of José Batlle y Ordóñez, twice president of the Republic of Uruguay, twice president of the National Council of Administration, for almost forty years the titular head or guiding spirit of the dominant political party, and author in considerable part of the present constitution is to write the history of Uruguay during the past quarter of a century. For the foremost institutions of this progressive nation are indeed but the lengthened shadow of this remarkable man whose death has removed one of the most forceful and colorful figures in contemporary South America.

To understand the influence of Batlle y Ordóñez and the extent of his achievements it is necessary to consider for a moment the history of Uruguay during the first eighty years of its independence. The foundations of Uruguayan nationality were laid by the great *caudillo* Artigas during the second decade of the past century. But this fair, purple land on the east bank of the Uruguay River was coveted by both Argentina and Brazil. As neither of these countries was strong enough to annex it without the consent of the other they at length agreed in 1828 to the creation of the Republic of Uruguay as a buffer state whose independence they undertook to respect.

Conditions within the new state were not propitious for either political or social progress. The total population in 1828 did not exceed fifty thousand. The great herds of cattle which constituted the chief wealth of the country had been largely destroyed during the wars of independence. The constitution of 1830, which in practice centered all power in the president, put a premium on revolution. Rivalries between the two military leaders, Rivera and Lavalleja, furnished the occasion for constant turmoil and civil war. To increase the confusion, Uruguay's powerful neighbors for interested reasons espoused the cause of the rival factions. The followers

of Rivera, known as the Colorados, or reds, were looked upon with sympathy by the Unitarians of Buenos Aires while the Blancos, or whites, received aid and comfort from Rosas. During the nine years' siege of Montevideo (the "New Troy"¹) when the Colorados successfully repulsed all attacks of the Blancos abetted by the Argentine tyrant the struggle took on epic proportions. The "Guerra Grande", as it was called, is still a subject for endless polemics in the Uruguayan press, especially on the eve of elections. The Paraguayan War had a deep repercussion in Uruguay. The Colorados allied themselves with Argentina and Brazil while the sympathies of the Blancos inclined toward Paraguay. Thanks to Brazilian aid, Flores, a Colorado, ousted his Blanco rival from the presidency in 1865 and nominally at least the Colorados have been in power ever since.

The Colorado régime from 1865 to 1903 was represented by a succession of presidents, some of whom were progressive and enlightened while others were military tyrants of the worst type. Naturally in our brief survey only a few of the outstanding events of this period can be touched upon. In 1897, the Blancos, or Nationalists, as they were then called, contrived by means of an armed uprising to extort from the Colorados the right to appoint the *jefes políticos* in six out of the eighteen departments into which the republic was divided. These departments soon fell completely under the control of the Nationalists and were popularly known as "fiefs" (*feudos*). It was to all intents a case of *imperium in imperio*. And still further to complicate the situation the destinies of the Nationalists were at this time in the hands of a certain Don Aparicio Saravia, a wealthy *estanciero*, a veteran of the border wars of Rio Grande do Sul and Uruguay, and a man of little culture and no political education. He was, in fact, a *gaucho* type, such as immortalized by Sarmiento in his *Facundo*, and not yet entirely extinct in Southern Brazil. Yet he

¹ The expression is that of the younger Dumas.

was capable of inspiring a fanatical devotion and his memory is still revered among the Nationalists as the writer of this article has had frequent occasion to observe.

While the stage was thus being set for the final act in the long drama of civil wars and revolutions, of which Uruguay had been the theater, the Colorado Party was gradually undergoing a transformation pregnant with consequences not only for the party itself but also for the nation at large. A new era was about to dawn for the distracted country and the figure which presently was to dominate all others was that of José Batlle y Ordóñez. Space does not permit any detailed account of the early life of this remarkable man. He was born in 1865. He grew up in an atmosphere surcharged with politics. His father, General Lorenzo Batlle, was president from 1868 to 1872. The young Batlle studied law in Montevideo, spent some time in Europe, and returned to Uruguay in 1882. He threw himself into journalism. For a time he was editor of *La Nación*, but wishing to have a paper whose policy he could direct he founded *El Día* in 1885. From that time until the day of his death this paper served as a mouthpiece for Batlle's ideas and programs. For many years it has been the most widely read and influential paper in Uruguay.

Batlle was a born journalist. He possessed a terse, almost lapidary style, in which everything was subordinated to clarity of exposition and cogency of argument. Rhetorical embellishments and sonorous phrases he scorned. His ability, his fearlessness, his sincerity, coupled with the vigor with which he assailed his opponents, attracted wide attention and soon won a large following especially among the younger members of his party. During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, Uruguay was governed by a number of military dictators, of whom Coronel and General Santos gained a tragic renown for their ruthlessness and tyranny. To Batlle the rule of these men was the negation of the whole spirit of democracy and he attacked them without quarter, frequently at the

risk of his life. Nor was he less savage in his denunciation of the civilian president, Idiarte Borda (1894-1897), who in point of corruption and cynicism recalled President Juárez Celman of Argentina. To no small degree Batlle was responsible for bringing to an end this melancholy period in Uruguayan history.

These years witnessed another achievement for which the credit in large part is due to Batlle: the resurrection of the Colorado Party. The origin of the two great traditional parties of Uruguay has already been touched upon. During the first fifty years of Uruguayan history the doctrinal differences between them had been slight. As for membership, the Colorados had tended to attract the urban and foreign elements to their standard, while the Blancos secured most of their recruits from the interior and particularly among the great landowners. But in most cases the party name had become a shibboleth; party loyalty a tradition as it was among the Whigs and Tories in eighteenth century England. Men were born into one or the other of the two parties as they were born into religion and clung to it with little reference to the politics or ideas which it might represent. Naturally the prestige of the Colorado Party had suffered greatly under the rule of such men as Latorre and Santos and for a time there was even a strong movement among the Uruguayan intellectuals to disassociate themselves entirely from both parties.

Such in its major outlines was the situation when Batlle embarked upon his career as a journalist and public man. He refused to believe that the Colorado Party had outlived its usefulness. Its resurrection became a matter of faith. But it could only live and prosper if it adapted itself to new conditions. It must be genuinely democratic. It must command widespread, popular support. It must have ideals, chief of which was social justice. It must have a program embracing a whole series of political and social reforms which when carried out would make Uruguay one of the most advanced of

the Hispanic American republics. But the revival of the party would be of scant avail unless it possessed the cohesion and discipline necessary to write these reforms on the statute books. Above all, intelligent and aggressive leadership was necessary. Such leadership Batlle was prepared to furnish. Fantastic, utopian, revolutionary, were a few of the adjectives applied to Batlle's plans as they were gradually unfolded. But unlike most prophets and reformers he lived to see his dreams become realities.

Meanwhile, Batlle actively entered politics. His success as *jefe político* in the department of Minas was partly responsible for his election as senator from Montevideo in 1898. His influence and prestige steadily grew and on March 1, 1903, he was elected president of the republic. The situation in Uruguay at this time was a critical one. The Blancos or Nationalists, as we have just seen, had for some time been in possession of six of the departments of the republic. The *jefes políticos*, who had succeeded in concentrating most of the local power in their hands, were in reality but the satraps of Saravia. This man, though he held no official position, and had, in point of fact, never been in Montevideo, was the great *caudillo* of the Nationalists. Though the situation was both anomalous and fraught with peril Batlle endeavored for a time to reach a *modus vivendi* with Saravia through the appointment of six Blancos as *jefes políticos* in the departments under Nationalist control. In reality, however, a conflict was inevitable. The very existence of the six Nationalist "fiefs", controlled by an utterly irresponsible authority, was a standing challenge in the judgment of President Batlle to the dignity and even the integrity of the country. On whom rests the responsibility for the outbreak of the devastating civil war between the Nationalists and the government forces is still a matter of controversy. The department of Rivera (one of the Nationalist "fiefs") had been raided by a Brazilian caudillo, one Oliveira de Souza, almost certainly with the con-

nivance of the local *jefe político*, Abelardo Márquez. At the request of the chief of police of Rivera, President Batlle sent two regiments into the department to preserve order. Saravia chose to consider this move as an invasion of his special preserve and sent Batlle an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the regiments on the ground that their presence was a violation of the pact of 1897. To have accepted this ultimatum would, argued Batlle, discredit the government, stimulate the spirit of rebellion, and accord official recognition to the "fiefs".

The refusal of the president was the signal for the outbreak of a savage and sanguinary rebellion, the last happily of which Uruguay has been the theater. The decisive battle was fought at Masoller on September 1, 1904. As a military force the Nationalist Party collapsed utterly. Saravia received a wound from which he died a few days later. The war exacted a heavy toll of life and wealth. One may almost say that two years of Batlle's presidency were consumed with putting down the rebellion and two years devoted to repairing its damages. Both in peace and war he had revealed exceptional qualities as an executive. As the end of his term approached many predicted that he would use his immense prestige and power to demand an extension of his mandate in order to carry out his program of reforms made impossible by the civil war. But the president remained deaf to all such insinuations and quietly turned over his office to his successor Dr. Williman. He immediately sailed for Europe where he remained during the next four years.

The administration of Williman was enlightened and progressive and a number of reforms, especially in the field of education, earlier sponsored by Batlle, were enacted into law. As the end of the presidential term approached, the Colorado Party, which controlled the majority of congress, put forward the candidacy of Battle for the years 1911-1915. As the president was chosen by the majority vote of the legislature, ac-

according to the constitution then in force, Batlle was elected without serious opposition.

During his sojourn abroad Batlle made a careful study of the governments of the various countries of western Europe. Especially was he interested in discovering a possible solution to the political problems more or less peculiar to Hispanic America. Of these problems obviously the most baffling was the recurrence of revolutions and civil wars which in the case of Uruguay had for long periods been almost endemic. He at length reached the conclusion that these evils had their chief root in the presidential system of government as it was understood in Spanish America—a legacy, in a sense, of the eighteenth-century absolute monarchies. Experience, in the case of Uruguay at least, had shown that under the presidential system the legislature and judiciary were in practice subordinate to the executive. With his control of congress and the electoral machinery he was in a position to dictate his successor. The opposition party could hope to gain power only through armed revolt. Some substitute for the all-powerful president must be found if the theory and practice of democracy were ever to be squared.

In casting about for such a substitute Batlle was greatly impressed by the form of the executive as it had been worked out in Switzerland. He believed, rightly or wrongly, that one of the chief reasons why the Swiss with their diversity of languages and races live in such complete harmony was the absence of a single president. In the case of Uruguay could not the adoption of collegiate or plural executive, in some respects analogous to the Swiss federal council, exorcise the ever-present specter of revolution and civil war? To be sure a parliamentary form of government might be substituted for the existing system, but parliamentary government, if it is to function successfully, must be represented in large assemblies, a situation not practicable in a country with Uruguay's scanty population.

Hardly had Batlle been well launched on his second term when he announced through the columns of *El Día* a project for the complete abolition of the presidency and the creation of a new body to be known as an executive junta or council, or as it was presently called, the collegiate executive. The members of this body were to be elected by popular vote. As was perhaps to be expected, a proposal so revolutionary in character was received with incredulity and ridicule. A large section of the Colorado Party announced its opposition to the project. The press, with a few exceptions (such as *El Día*) was bitterly hostile. A canvass conducted by *El Século* among lawyers, publicists, and professors revealed an overwhelming opposition. But Batlle refused to be discouraged. Supported by a phalanx of brilliant young journalists he embarked on a propaganda which covered the entire republic. Some of the ablest men in the Colorado Party such as Dr. Baltasar Brum and Dr. Domingo Arena rallied to his support. The collegiate executive soon became a burning issue in Uruguayan politics.

Whatever their views on the character and form of the presidency, practically all Uruguayans were agreed that the constitution of 1830, one of the oldest in South America, was in need of reform. In accord with these sentiments, congress passed a law for the election in 1916 of a constituent assembly, the members to be chosen by universal suffrage, secret ballot, and with proportional representation. Batlle and his lieutenants girded up their loins for the struggle. They determined to secure the return of a majority of members committed to the adoption of the collegiate executive. They naturally had to contend with the opposition of the Nationalists. But a more serious menace was the defection of a large number of the Colorados, who organized a separate group under the designation of Partido Colorado Riverista, taking their name from Rivera, one of the founders of the Colorado Party. From that time to the present the Riveristas

have opposed the collegiate executive although they have supported most of the other reforms sponsored by Batlle. The majority wing of the Colorados who remained faithful to the leadership of Batlle has generally been designated as the Partido Colorado Batllista.

The results of the election, which took place on June 30, 1916, proved a bitter disappointment to Batlle and his followers. When the election returns were in it appeared that in the constituent convention the supporters of the collegiate executive would be in a minority. This defeat was due not merely to the combined efforts of the Nationalists and the Riveristas but also to the apathy of large sections of the electorate, especially in the rural districts. To many the whole question at issue was something of a mystification.

The convention met during the summer and fall of 1917. The sessions, held in the aula of the university, were open to the public. All of the great constitutional and political problems affecting Uruguay were discussed and debated by some of the ablest men of the country. The alleged merits and demerits of the collegiate executive were subjected to a searching analysis. Though in a minority the followers of Batlle refused to admit defeat. They occupied, in fact, a strategic position. By their abstention they were able to nullify the decisions of the convention. But their real weapon was much more effective. Though a minority in the convention they still commanded a majority in the legislature. The Batllistas now let it be known that unless their opponents were willing to make concessions they would present Batlle's name before the legislature for the presidency in 1918. The idea of a third presidency of Batlle was anathema to the Nationalists and they agreed to accept a compromise. Out of the resulting agreement or *acuerdo* arose the present constitution of Uruguay.

The collegiate executive, though in a mutilated form, as will presently be pointed out, was accepted by the National-

ists. Once this major difficulty was cleared away there was virtual agreement on the remaining innovations of which the most important were the popular election of the president, the use of the secret ballot, the grant of a large measure of autonomy to the departments and municipalities, and the separation of church and state. The new constitution was ratified by a popular referendum on November 25, 1917, and entered into operation March 1, 1919.

The scope of this article does not permit any detailed examination of the constitution of 1917. We may, however, pause for a moment to consider its most characteristic feature, the collegiate executive, as this innovation, unique among American constitutions, is in a very real sense the work of Batlle. It was Batlle's intention, as we have already seen, to abolish the presidency entirely and entrust his powers to a junta or collegiate executive. In this he was unsuccessful. The president still enjoys a certain measure of power, relating chiefly to what may be termed the political functions of the executive. He represents the state internally and externally. The ministries of foreign affairs, of army and navy, and of the interior are under his jurisdiction. He also has a certain amount of authority in matters of finance, especially in the preparation of the budget. But all matters of administration not expressly reserved to the president are lodged in the National Council of Administration. This body, consisting of nine members, renewable by thirds every two years and elected by universal suffrage with proportional representation, has complete jurisdiction over the ministries of public instruction, finance (save as noted above), public works, and commerce and industry. There is thus a vertical cleavage of executive power which leaves the president largely supreme within his own sphere, but entrusts matters of internal administration to a popularly elected council.

During a sojourn of several months in Uruguay, the writer

of this article had occasion to observe the Council of Administration in action and was able to test in a measure the validity of the many criticisms to which it has been subjected. Hostile critics from the first claimed that a double-headed executive was a political monstrosity condemned by its very nature to sterile conflicts. In reality there have been thus far no serious conflicts between the two executive bodies; the legislature to which such conflicts are to be submitted, has never had occasion to act as arbiter. It is also charged that an executive body of nine is ill-equipped for the efficient and prompt despatch of public business. There is some ground for this complaint. Too much time is spent on trivialities and discussions over appointments. But it should be noted that the council meets daily through the year, its members with rare exceptions have been men of outstanding ability, its deliberations, summarized daily in the press, are followed with care by the public, and finally the amount of public business in a country the size of Uruguay is necessarily limited.

Envisaged from another point of view, the council has accomplished all and even more than its sponsors had expected. Since the adoption of the collegiate executive, civil wars and revolutions have utterly ceased in Uruguay. Under the old system of a single executive the Nationalist or Blanco Party was excluded from power for half a century. Now thanks to the creation of the council and the election of its members through proportional representation the party enjoys an influence commensurate with its importance. Of the nine members of the council four have generally been Nationalists. Moreover, the scission between the two wings of the Colorado Party—the Batllistas and the Riveristas—has at times permitted the Nationalists to secure the coveted post of chairman of the council. While the writer was in Montevideo this position was filled by Dr. Luis Alberto de Herrera, titular head of the Nationalist Party and twice candidate for the

presidency. It is extremely doubtful whether the Nationalists, though bitterly opposed to the collegiate executive at its inception, would abolish it if given the opportunity. The only out and out opponents are the Riveristas, but their objections are based largely on doctrinal grounds. Most foreign observers are agreed that this, the most spectacular of Batlle's innovations, has more than justified itself.

The influence of Batlle has made itself felt in other domains of national life. Early in his political career, he reached the conviction that the state should interest itself actively in the social welfare of its citizens. As has already been noted he was able to commit the Colorado Party to inscribe on its program a long series of social reforms. At the time they were advanced many regarded them as revolutionary and dangerous, though subsequently reforms of like character were adopted by other progressive Hispanic American states. Among the reforms written on the Uruguayan statute books may be noted the adoption of the eight-hour law, the suppression of the death penalty, indeterminate sentences and probation, divorce at the demand of the wife, rights of natural children, old age pensions, indemnity for accidents, factory inspection, and minimum wage for agricultural laborers. But Batlle went further. Under his urgings the Colorado Party became the exponent of a form of state socialism. Uruguay was turned into a kind of vast laboratory in which all sorts of social experiments have been carried out. The creation of a state mortgage bank, the nationalization of electric energy, the beginnings of a system of state railways, the erection, shortly before Batlle's death, of a national refrigerating plant, are cases in point. Batlle tried, though unsuccessfully, to make insurance a state monopoly, but his aim was partially realized through the foundation of a state insurance bank.

Batlle was led to advocate this policy of modified state socialism not merely because it made, as he believed, for

greater social justice, but also because it tended to free Uruguay from what he regarded as the menace of foreign economic domination. Both the ownership and ultimate control of all public or semi-public utilities should be vested, not in foreign corporations but in the state. The evils of state ownership and administration could be avoided, in the judgment of Batlle, by placing them under the control of autonomous councils (*entes autónomos*) free from all direct interference by the government and removed from political influence. Money for the financing of these nationalized undertakings has been secured through foreign loans.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the intrusion of the state into domains ordinarily left in Hispanic America to private—generally—foreign initiative has been the object of much criticism, in which charges of excessive personnel and gross extravagance figure most prominently. It is noteworthy that complaints as regards graft and corruption are rare. The observations of the writer lead him to believe that these public services are performed as well if not better in Uruguay than in most countries where they are under state control.

One of Batlle's most firm convictions was that democracy if successful must be constantly applied and practiced. Partly due to his initiative there exists in Uruguay a model electoral law which has virtually eliminated fraud. An electoral court, absolutely autonomous, settles all disputes. The Colorado Party is organized on a democratic basis. Its policies are largely determined by party convention. It was the writer's privilege to attend such a convention held before the last presidential election. For the better part of a month delegates from all parts of the republic discussed in public session the aims and policies of the party, the platform to be submitted to the voters, and the choice of candidates for the presidency and the National Council of Administration. Though Batlle's influence was always in evidence there was

no attempt to anticipate or dictate decisions or override the wishes of the majority of the delegates. Batlle's ascendancy was a moral one. He preferred to persuade rather than to command.

In the case of a man possessed of the dynamic personality and enjoying the immense following of Batlle y Ordóñez there is always the danger of identifying him too closely with the history and progress of his country. Without the aid of devoted lieutenants and supporters, many of Batlle's ideals would have fallen short of realization. Foremost among his collaborators must be singled out Dr. Baltasar Brum, a brilliant young statesman who, first as minister of foreign affairs under President Viera (1915-1919) and later as chief magistrate (1919-1923) did much to increase the prestige of Uruguay abroad. It was Dr. Brum who gave the clearest exposition of Uruguay's support of the policy of continental solidarity or Pan Americanism during the Great War and began Uruguay's fruitful activity in the League of Nations. Mention should also be made of Dr. Domingo Arena, formerly a member of the National Council of Administration and now national deputy. On more than one occasion during the past two decades, Dr. Arena's wise counsel and unstinted support enabled Batlle to cope with the difficult crises through which the Colorado Party has passed. And in fairness it should be added that members of the Nationalist Party have supported many of the reforms for which the Colorados have claimed the sole credit.

It is beyond doubt that Uruguay with its intelligent population and abundant resources would have taken its place among the most progressive of the Hispanic American nations even if Batlle had never lived. Both of the two great Uruguayan parties have had in their ranks men fully competent to discharge, with credit to themselves and their country, the highest functions of state. But without Batlle, Uruguay's political history would have followed different lines, its con-

stitutional organization would have been less unique, and its social and economic structure would have been of a different order. For good or ill, Batlle plotted the course which the Uruguayan ship of state seems destined to follow for many years to come.

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GREAT BRITAIN AND SPANISH RECOGNITION OF THE HISPANIC AMERICAN STATES

In the spring of 1836, there was a great hubbub in official Washington. Spain, with meager spirit and grandiloquent language, at last had expressed a willingness to recognize the independence of its revolted colonies. The idea that England might claim the glory of persuading Spain to take this step and thus garner the mercantile advantages of Hispanic American gratitude caused great uneasiness in Washington. Post haste an American vessel was dispatched to notify the Spanish Americans of Spain's recognition. Prompted by jealousy, Britain's government naïvely communicated this news to Spain with the request that that country should set the world aright as to what power secured Spanish recognition. Certainly, replied the Spanish minister, neither England nor the United States determined Spain's actions; moreover, the United States in sending a vessel had taken a *paso oficioso* (officious step). Yet it was a fact that England and America had coöperated in securing Spanish recognition, albeit their ambassadors did not always break together the bread of mutual endeavor, with Rush, American ambassador at the court of St. James's, all eagerness in his efforts to precipitate the cautious, but determined Canning, and to commit him to the American policy of speedy acknowledgment. The American rôle in securing this end and its interrelations with British diplomacy have been ably discussed,¹ but what of England's direct efforts? To answer that question is the purpose of this article.

¹ W. S. Robertson, "The Policy of Spain toward Its Revolted Colonies", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VI. 21-46 (1926); "The Recognition of the Spanish Colonies by the Motherland", *ibid.*, I. 70-91 (1918); "The United States and Spain in 1822", *American Historical Review*, XX. 781-800 (1915).

When, in 1814, it was still uncertain what would appear when the seething pot of revolution in Hispanic America simmered down, England was groping for commercial harmony with Spain. The odds were still in its favor. In pursuance of this idea, the English ambassador, Sir Henry Wellesley, signed with the Duque de San Carlos a treaty of friendship and alliance, expressing the agreement of the signatories to forward their respective interests, to frame a treaty of commerce, and, in the event of the opening of Hispanic American trade, to admit Great Britain as the most favored nation.² When the United States in 1822 announced its intention of recognizing the new republics and called upon the great powers to follow its example, Castlereagh could express his interest in peace, but peace based on the authority of King Ferdinand.³ Thus spoke a diplomat of the old world. Three years later, however, the petitions of English merchant associations urging recognition of the *de facto* governments,⁴ and abundant alarms concerning American plotting, eagerness, and ability to seize Cuba,⁵ brought England into another double rôle. Henceforth, until it despaired of Spain, England employed all its influence to reestablish peace between the mother country and its late colonies on the basis of recognition and mutual advantages, especially commercial.⁶ We

are in a course of amicable and furious correspondence with Spain—amicable as far as relates to Europe, in which quarter of the globe we defend her against invasion; furious in relation to America, where we have a squadron now employed in seeking forcible redress for grievances. To keep these two strains simultaneously operating upon the Spaniards; to hold a shield before them with one hand, and punish them with the other, has been and still is a matter of no small delicacy and difficulty.⁷

² F. O. (Foreign Office), Spain, 94/268, 28 August, 1814.

³ *España y Inglaterra, estudio objetivo*, pp. 73-74.

⁴ F. O., Spain, 72/283, 9 May, 1822.

⁵ F. O., Spain, 72/261, H. Theo Kilbee to W. Hamilton, 11 August, 1820.

⁶ C. A. Villanueva, *Fernando VII. y los Nuevos Estados*, pp. 166-167.

⁷ J. Bagot, *George Canning and his Friends*, p. 152.

Thus, in confidence, Canning depicted the dilemma into which his country was thrown in its opposition to France in Europe and to the futile, but high-handed methods of Spain in America.

Spain was seeking to align Europe against the new American states through the Holy Alliance. To the Paris conference the English government refused to send delegates. It resolved that the conferences at Aix-la-Chapelle had been futile; that the Spanish system had proved impracticable; and that any further steps toward recognition would depend upon the circumstances. This news, according to Sir William a Court, English ambassador in Spain, created consternation in Madrid. Tension, however, was relieved by the hope that the decree of the council of the Indies opening the ports of South America to all nations would cause the English government to relax its determination not to assist in the conference.⁸

The British government, said Canning in 1824, did not wish to anticipate Spain. On the contrary it insisted "that his Catholic Majesty should have the grace and advantage of leading the way in that recognition among the powers of Europe."⁹ But Ofalia, now Spanish secretary of state, exploiting Anglo-American rivalry in Hispanic America, dramatically delivered a vigorous tirade, pointing to the "big stick" of the Americans in countering the English suggestion. He contended that supporting the Spanish colonies would only eclipse England itself through American seizure of a recognized Mexico, and the ever increasing naval potentiality of the United States.¹⁰ Ten days later, January 14, 1824, the Spanish secretary again attempted to demonstrate that England was working against its own interest, pointing out the danger of Yankee domination, the compatibility of the Spanish monarchy with that of England, and Spain's readiness to

⁸ F. O., Spain, 72/285, a Court to Canning, 8 and 10 February, 1824.

⁹ F. O., Spain, 72/284, Canning to a Court, 30 January, 1824.

¹⁰ F. O., Spain, 72/285, a Court to Canning, 4 January, 1824.

make commercial concessions.¹¹ By February, 1824, Ofalia, who had lived in the United States, agreed to produce positive proof of plans for the federation of the Hispanic colonies with the United States which would immediately appropriate the trade and ports of South America,¹² contrary to the true interests of Britain.

The representative report of the merchants of London presented by Sir James Mackintosh on June 15, 1824, like that of their polemic forbears of 1739, complained of undue tenderness toward Spain. The merchants thought Castlereagh's recognition of Spanish American commercial flags in 1822 and Canning's appointment of consuls in 1823 "as much an act of recognition as the appointment of higher ministers". The Polignac memorial of October 9, 1823, and Canning's rejection of a general conference early in the next year cleared the field for recognition in Europe. The position thus assumed by England was the basis of the decision transmitted to Spain no longer to consult that country, but to rely upon expediency.¹³ Thus far the policy of England had been deferential and the publicity given it was an element in educating the cabinet to the point of recognition.¹⁴

Either England must become a competitor for superior commercial concessions and spheres of influence in Spain's disintegrating empire and thus perpetuate anarchy and light anew the European conflagration, or England must renounce any such pretensions and thereby claim the privilege of excluding its rivals from that which it did not claim itself. That England chose the latter course, probably out of expediency, is evident from the nature of the Polignac Memorandum, Canning's suggestion of a Monroe Doctrine, and the tone of the correspondence from Westminster to Madrid. In January, 1824, Canning announced clearly his eagerness to initiate

¹¹ F. O., Spain, 72/285, a Court to Canning, 14 January, 1824.

¹² *Ibid.*, 2 February, 1824.

¹³ C. A. Villanueva, *Fernando VII. y los Nuevos Estados*, p. 186.

¹⁴ H. W. V. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning*, pp. 142-145.

negotiations between Spain and its recalcitrant colonies on the basis of securing for Spain commercial advantages superior to those conceded to other nations. He professed no desire for exclusive privileges for England, but asked freedom for all. Spain, he remarked, should show no surprise at this. In this same dispatch he laid down the law: absolute commercial interdiction or the employment of foreign arms to reëstablish dominion in Spanish America would automatically lead to England's recognition of the new governments. The Spanish minister observed that British hostility to foreign aid was equivalent to throwing Great Britain on the side of the colonies.¹⁵

Delay, a Court informed the foreign office, was the policy of Spain. Alarmed, Ofalia expressed his satisfaction at England's delaying recognition, which he hoped further to retard by satisfying the two British conditions. There was, he made it known, no intention of soliciting and using foreign arms or establishing a commercial interdiction. Although England was the logical mediator, its mediation with recognition as a *sine qua non* was not acceptable to Spain. Restive under English and American pressure, the Spaniards alleged that the clergy, nobility, and proprietors of Spanish America were royalists and likely to effect a reaction. Was not Cuba, they asked, an example of steadfastness?¹⁶ Feigning optimism while hiding his despair, Ofalia sought to placate England and perhaps to hoodwink Spain.

Sir William a Court was instructed simply to read the Canning dispatch to the officials in Madrid and to declare anew the British view. Then, if other powers differed, Canning expected by this method to avoid needless discussion, mystery, jealousy, and delay. This perfect frankness before the world was intended to be a fitting answer to the decree of the council of the Indies. Finally, Ofalia, Spanish secretary of state, was informed, in answer to his appeal to British

¹⁵ F. O., Spain, 72/285, a Court to Canning, 14 January, 1824.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17 February, 1824.

experience in the loss of the American colonies, that Spain must see the expediency of recognition before the grace and advantages of granting it were lost.¹⁷ Spain retorted that it did not consider the recovery of the colonies so hopeless as to admit the principle of independence. The British government was accused of being ill informed as to conditions in Peru and Buenos Aires. Spain stood ready to maintain a new kind of sovereignty, admitting a separate administration and government. A perpetual hope was preferable to a few million piasters for the king and the commercial advantage of his subjects,¹⁸ concluded Ofalia with a flourish of pride more befitting a conquistador than a nervous statesman futilely struggling to hold together what the conqueror had laid at the feet of Spain. A wavering spirit and the genius of Spain's politics—delay—are revealed in these statements.

To England the issue of recognition now appeared to be only one of time.¹⁹ The English government believed that its sincerity and the soundness of its advice had been amply demonstrated in this momentous year for the Spanish empire—1824. English mediation was not yet contingent upon absolute recognition by Spain, but England refused to be bound by Spanish acceptance of mediation should immediate recognition become necessary.

In the spring of 1824, the British cabinet viewed Mexico as possibly ready for recognition, while the agents sent to Mexico to investigate immediately confirmed the view. Canning's hand was forced, but he thought to avoid the issue by feigning to consider the report immature. Yet Spain was warned that the British regarded Spain's situation in Mexico as hopeless. Everyone, including the Spaniards, now knew that British recognition could only be withheld until the arrival of the Mexican agent or until Spain considered fairly and reasonably the expediency of leading the way in such ac-

¹⁷ F. O., Spain, 72/284, Canning to a Court, 30 January, 1824.

¹⁸ F. O., Spain, 72/285, a Court to Canning, 6 March, 1824.

¹⁹ F. O., Spain, 72/285, Canning to a Court, 1 March, 1824.

knowledge—a thing which, as Canning did not fail to stress, it could do with dignity and arms in hand, as its troops still held San Juan de Ulloa near Vera Cruz. Spanish power had vanished in Colombia; no vestige of Spanish authority remained in Buenos Aires and almost as little in Chile; a deaf ear turned to all of the new republics would serve only to unite them in a common cause—thus ran the ruthless, but cajoling and accurate arguments of Canning and a Court. The Spanish secretary, affected by this logic, became the scapegoat of anti-English feeling. “The enemies of M. Ofalia”, a Court explained,

have built an accusation upon this of a traitorous deference to the suggestions of England, and of his wish to betray the best interests of Spain. The absurdity and malignity of such a charge are too evident to need refutation, but though he has said nothing to me upon the subject, I know that M. de Ofalia has felt hurt at the accusation; and his feeling may possibly have an influence upon his future arrangements.²⁰

Respectful toward England and yet trying to reclaim the support of a dubious public opinion, Ofalia in March and May of 1824 replied to the English with seeming confidence that aside from a few lawyers and physicians the whole population of South America was desirous of an amicable arrangement with Spain; that the British ministers had declared in open parliament that the right of recovering the colonies, if possible, was Spain's. This information, ran the ironical comment, came not from agents sent to secure it, but from all professions, classes, colors, and from the British themselves.²¹

Again on June 15, 1824, Sir William a Court was instructed to ply Conde de Ofalia with the urgency of prompt action and to offer his government as the channel for any reasonable proposals to Hispanic America, especially Mexico. Refusal of English mediation or failure to arrange distinct

²⁰ F. O., Spain, 72/285, a Court to Canning, 15 March, 1824.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 21 March, 1824.

terms of accommodation with Mexico—a Court let it be known—would be regarded as discharging his government from any obligation of further reference to Madrid.²² English patience was reaching a low ebb, yet the situation in the motherland needed delicate handling.

Spain is bewildered and irresolute, clings to the hope of foreign assistance at one moment, despairs of the probability of obtaining it, and of its efficacy, if obtained, at the next; and is of herself equal to no greater effort, than that of stealing out a few officers, from time to time to the West Indies.²³

Plainly Canning was nervous as he played his last high cards. Two days after this final offer of mediation, he asked a Court to inform Ofalia that the English fleet stood ready to protect Cuba against external aggression [England was as anxious as Spain to prevent its occupation by the United States!] as soon as Spain should on its part comply with the suggestions of the English minister's last dispatch. Cuba thus preserved, Spain could make of it an entrepôt of trade or haven for the influx of loyal Spaniards from the rest of America [Spain insisted that they existed there]. The English, however, with no uncanny political prescience, refused to guarantee Cuba against revolution.

In reality, England was seeking to guarantee Cuba against the United States. If England would fall in line with the United States in recognizing the Hispanic American republics, said the American ambassador, he would "say, swear, sign anything, *sub spiritu*,"²⁴ But this was not Canning's tune. Cuba, he thought, could not be guaranteed against one of the

²² F. O., Spain, 72/284, Canning to a Court, 31 March, 1824.

²³ J. Bagot, *George Canning and his Friends*, II. 337.

²⁴ H. W. V. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822-1827*, pp. 110-113; J. Bagot, *George Canning and His Friends*, II. 216. "Rush le declaró entonces que si reconocía inmediatamente la independencia de los Nuevos Estados, podía garantizarle que el Gobierno de Washington no permanecería inactivo ante semejante ataque contra las antiguas colonias españolas". C. A. Villanueva, *Fernando VII. y los Nuevos Estados*, p. 217.

belligerents—Spain. The United States remained, therefore, almost alone. “We offered”, said Canning,

to guarantee Cuba:—which for a power so shy of guarantees, was a great offer; and which, if accepted, would have involved us in great difficulties.

The Spanish evidently understood the maneuver, and refused to accept a proposal so “clogged with . . . conditions”. This smooth manipulation Canning would not accredit to the Spaniards. It was due to the workings of the Russians in the reactionary Quadruple Alliance! “The voice is the voice of Ofalia”, Canning wrote to his friend Bagot with whom he could drop diplomatic restraint,

but the hand is the hand of Pozzo:—Pozzo’s hand, however, as the natural hand of Essau, but a kid glove on the hairy side turned *inwards*. Nothing can be more smooth than the style of the Spanish note. There is not a word to find fault with: but the matter is (as Ofalia thought it) ruinous to Spain—being intended to be only detrimental to England. Well, we cannot help. *Livarvimus avimas nostras*. And that’s an end.²⁵

Spain was grateful for England’s offer to mediate, but the conditions for protecting Cuba were still unacceptable. That the English might henceforth act without reference to Madrid did not apparently alter Spain’s position. Later in the summer of 1824, Ofalia expressed his happiness that the English government had had no correspondence with Iturbide.²⁶ In July, however, the Conde de Ofalia was dismissed at the instigation of Ugarti. Zea Bermúdez, then in London on a special mission, was appointed in his place.²⁷ Before returning to Spain to assume a post in which he despaired of doing good, he admitted to Secretary Canning that Buenos Aires and Colombia were hopeless except in case of complete suc-

²⁵ J. Bagot, *George Canning and his Friends*, II. 240.

²⁶ F. O., Spain, 72/286, a Court to Canning, 8 June, 1824.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 13 July, 1824.

cess elsewhere, but he appeared unwilling to abandon any chance of Spanish recovery. To Canning the international conferences only prolonged a hope which should long since have been extinguished.²⁸

On the last day of the busy year of 1824, instructions were addressed to Bosanquet, the new English ambassador at Madrid, for conveyance to Secretary Zea. After a review of the state of Mexico, Colombia, and Buenos Aires, Canning announced unequivocally the decision of the British government forthwith to negotiate commercial treaties with the new states, the effect of which, when severally ratified, would amount to a diplomatic recognition of the *de facto* governments of those three countries. Again the British government tendered its offices for the establishment of a friendly understanding between Spain and those countries which Spain could no longer hope to reduce on terms honorable and advantageous to Spain.²⁹ Such dogged persistence at least revealed some knowledge of intercourse with the Spanish. Secretary Zea, now thoroughly converted to the Spanish view, endeavored to counteract this policy on the ground of its eventual detriment to England, as an encouragement to rebellion, and as a war on the principle of legitimacy upon which the stability of the old governments depended. Even better sources than Canning's, said the Spanish minister, showed the majority sentiment in the colonies was suppressed by factions and demonstrated the practicability of recovering Spanish America. Spain, he said, would never have refused the proffered mediation of England had it not been offered on the one condition Spain could not accept—loss of sovereignty over Spanish America—a right which Spain would sooner or later be in a position to assert.³⁰ English recognition of America, Zea parroted his predecessor, would only raise up a naval power to rival England itself some day. Bosanquet therefore re-

²⁸ F. O., Spain, 72/284, Canning to a Court, 7 August, 1824.

²⁹ F. O., Spain, 72/288, Canning to Bosanquet, 31 December, 1824.

³⁰ F. O., Spain, 72/299, Bosanquet to Canning, 20 January, 1825.

ported Zea's position unalterable. He also wrote that Zea would not separate Spain and the colonies in the commercial negotiations.³¹

On January 21, 1825, the Spanish ministry presented to Ambassador Bosanquet its official answer to Canning's note of December 31. The Spanish case was simply reviewed in a long and weak document which ended in requesting a reconsideration—within itself an excellent vindication of England's steps.

During the winter of 1824 and the spring of 1825, the English evinced some fear of Russian interference in the affairs of Spain despite the efforts of the Russian minister at Madrid to disclaim any such intention.³² There were rumors of the departure of an agent, Ugarti, for St. Petersburg as a bearer of a Spanish protest against the conduct of Great Britain with respect to the colonies. Spain could afford to take such a step now, for the fear of hastening the recognition of the colonies by England which had deterred Spain from seeking physical aid from its allies for the recovery of its possessions, no longer existed,³³ as England had committed itself.³⁴

In March, 1825, Canning wrote directly to the Spanish official, Los Rios, in order to relieve Bosanquet from further painful explanations to Zea. The cardinal note of Canning's advice to Bosanquet was to avoid further controversy, but the dispatch to Zea ended with the hope that Spain might reconcile itself to a matter already irrevocably decided.³⁵ The instructions to the successor of Bosanquet, Frederick Lamb, held the note of the foreign office of January 31 to be final and insisted that the American question be kept as quiet as possible and that no conversation with Zea be held on the subject unless the latter had plans whereby the mediation of Great

³¹ F. O., Spain, 72/299, Bosanquet to Canning, 27 January, 1825.

³² *Ibid.*, 27 January, 1825.

³³ F. O., Spain, 72/299, Bosanquet to Canning, 7 February, 1825.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 21 March, 1825.

³⁵ F. O., Spain, 72/299, Canning to Bosanquet, 29 March, 1825.

Britain might promote better relations between Spain and the South American republics.³⁶

This silence upon so important a subject was only tactical. In May, the ambassador at Madrid reported the formation of a junta by the Spanish government for the purpose of deciding whether it might be expedient to make a new attempt to recover the trans-Atlantic dominions by force or to acknowledge their independence on condition of obtaining commercial advantages. This information revealed a great anxiety to please England.³⁷ Ambassador Lamb soon reported that he had been betrayed into a conversation on America with Zea in which he had discovered that the king's obstinacy in non-recognition was due to an article of faith based on an antiquated oath of Charles V. not to alienate any part of his dominions. Lamb expressed his fear to Zea that the knot of Spanish prosperity was to be untied in America, for by allowing other nations to make arrangements with Spanish America, Spain, although ultimately compelled to take the same course, would be too late to keep any of the immense benefits which might have been derived from an accommodation at an earlier moment.³⁸

By August, 1825, Spain began to take seriously the English offer to guarantee Cuba, but *a priori* precluded recognition. The United States was feared, although it disclaimed any intention of seizing Cuba. For Spain to dispatch men and ships to Cuba would be equivalent to mobilization against South America. "In truth", Canning wrote to Ambassador Lamb,

this fundamental error is at the bottom of all the Spanish reasoning—that Spain considering the Spanish Americans as rebels, insists upon treating them in that light, and in no other. . . .

Lamb's instructions to enter no controversy with Zea were strong and specific, but Lamb thought the failure distinctly

³⁶ F. O., Spain, 72/300, Instructions to Lamb, 18 February, 2 May, 1825.

³⁷ F. O., Spain, 72/299, Bosanquet to Canning, 16 May, 1825.

³⁸ F. O., Spain, 72/300, Lamb to Canning, 20 June, 1825.

to explain the two points of view would not be tenderness toward Spain, but delusion.³⁹

Although during the last six months of 1825 America was scarcely mentioned in Spanish society, Lamb urged the precedent of England in recognizing the United States in spite of its loyal elements; and of France in recognizing Santo Domingo.⁴⁰ The recognition of Brazil also afforded an opportunity to renew the English offices to the Duque del Infantado who had succeeded Zea. He was reticent, but it appeared that he was suffering under extreme jealousy at the arrangement which Portugal had obtained and that the overthrow of the Brazilian Empire would be highly agreeable to him. Finally, Infantado confessed that he could not mention pacification to his sovereign however much the English associated it with the possibility of the renewed splendor of Spain, and that only a direct communication from the Portuguese king would induce his sovereign to recognize Brazil.⁴¹

Lamb thought that the sinking finances of Spain and the increasing smuggling into the peninsula could be alleviated only by the withdrawal of the French troops and recognition of the new states, which the king, supported by foreign troops, alone prevented.⁴² Lamb likewise reported French efforts to convert the members of the cortes and to induce the government through reason and persuasion to recognize Colombia and Mexico.⁴³ The Austrian minister (probably the channel most agreeable to England) also quickened his interest in the American question. The papal nuncio became so openly in favor of arrangements as to indicate orders from Rome. Lamb assured the Austrian minister that England could not view with pleasure any conduct which would revive war in America. Infantado sounded England on the guarantee of

³⁹ F. O., Spain, 72/300, Instructions to Lamb, 1 August, 1825.

⁴⁰ F. O., Spain, 72/302, Lamb to Canning, 17 October, 13 December, 1825.

⁴¹ F. O., Spain, 72/303, Lamb to Canning, 12 December, 1825.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 25 December, 1825.

Cuba, whose governor was clamoring for three thousand men, as soon as he heard of the fall of San Juan de Ulloa. Infantado now held that the acknowledgment of the republics would be made possible through Bourbon princes. In the royal council which was to consider the American question, Ambassador Lamb commissioned Count Brunetti to have a proposition made for the suspension of arms, but the meeting broke up in general disapprobation of this proposition. In vain did Lamb paint for Infantado the hopeless situation in Mexico and the danger of Cuba from both rebellion and invasion.⁴⁴

The English and French ambassadors then made common cause. Adjustment of the American question seemed possible. The Spanish king was in dire need of money: "Como, no tengo nada". "Settle with America", retorted Père Cyril. "If I thought that, I should not be long about it", said the king. Great hope was now placed in the French ambassador who had the discretion of employing large sums of money in cases of emergency, but he appeared in doubt.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the American ambassador had addressed a note of 153 pages to the Duque del Infantado on the subject of the recognition of Hispanic America.⁴⁶ Infantado began to talk of a plenipotentiary. The English minister reported that a feather might turn the scales or the war might go on until it reached the shores of the peninsula. Yet he lamented that he possessed not the requisite feather.⁴⁷ Soon the scales appeared tipped the other way. The Spanish expedition, which Spain thought lost, arrived at Havana. Brazil's attitude was uncertain and Bolívar's troops had that fact to concern them before they could look forward to Cuba. Spain again fell back on its old principle of procrastination. Even Infantado recommended Louis XIV.'s example to Ferdinand VII.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ F. O., Spain, 72/314, Lamb to Canning, 7 February, 1826.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 February, 1826.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 February, 1826.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 February, 1826.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

In the spring of 1826, the British foreign office held emphatically that the renewal of the American question when Spain had a navy in America and men at Ulloa was no longer possible. While the disposition to mediate still remained, England had no intention of mediating to secure advantageous terms for Spain.⁴⁹ At the same time, however, the foreign office announced the acceptance of the invitation of Hurtado, the Colombian envoy at the Court of St. James's, for the appointment of a commissioner to the Panama Conference. Lamb was ordered to acquaint the Duque del Infantado of the appointment of Dawkins; but also to explain that his object was only to watch the interests of Britain there and to give no offense to Spain.⁵⁰ That part of Dawkins's instructions which related to pacification between Spain and its late colonies was also immediately dispatched to the British minister in Madrid with the suggestion to withhold its disclosure until the success of its execution could be determined, else Spain might be led to expectations which might not be realized; moreover, the French ambassador and the American minister might try to prevent its success.

Postponement of further consideration of the American question was contingent upon another factor so seldom stressed, but of such imponderable weight in diplomacy—the state of politics at home. “We have agreed to postpone the consideration of Spain and her colonies”, said Canning to Granville,

till after the rising of our respective Parliaments. Could we take up that subject in June—you and I—with Villèle, and settle it in substance leaving the formalities to be gone through by you and Damas after my coming away?⁵¹

In spite of the statement of his government that Spain had lost its colonies irretrievably, the French ambassador soon

⁴⁹ F. O., Spain, 72/312, Canning to Lamb, 15 February, 1826.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Canning to Granville, London, 18 April, 1826, in E. J. Stapleton, *Political Correspondence of George Canning*, II. 30.

slackened his pace in the American affair. The English minister in Madrid cut off relations with the American minister because he proposed the admission of Russia to a general conference.⁵²

In May, Hurtado, the Colombian ambassador and minister plenipotentiary in London, appealed for the good offices of Britain to secure a cessation of hostilities between Colombia and Spain, not necessarily on the basis of complete and immediate recognition through a definitive treaty of peace, but on the basis of an armistice of long duration such as Spain had used in reconciling itself to the emancipation of the United States of the Low Countries. Circumstances for presenting the proposition to Spain seemed inauspicious, but Canning suggested two facts which might open Spanish eyes. First, the forts of Callao had capitulated, which tended to render acute the problem of Spain's retaining even its insular possessions. Infantado's reaction to this fact would determine whether or not Hurtado's proposal should be disclosed. The second fact was the intimated disposition of France to withdraw its troops. This, he thought, would operate more strongly than any other consideration to quicken the decision of the Spanish ministry for reconciliation with its late American provinces.⁵³

The English actually made another attempt, but their efforts were again chilled. At Infantado's reception of their overture, Canning was plainly exasperated and agreed with Lamb that constant advice and pressure served only to excite unfounded suspicion. To the selfish interests of Great Britain, he said, it was all the same if Spain recognized its colonies then, ten years subsequently, or not at all, for was not Great Britain the only European power in legalized intercourse with Spanish America? Was not similar intercourse with other European powers dependent upon a recognition which in turn appeared contingent upon Spanish recognition? Recognition

⁵² F. O., Spain, 72/315, Lamb to Canning, 22 April, 1826.

⁵³ F. O., Spain, 72/312, Canning to Lamb, 12 May, 1826.

by Spain would have divested England of these obvious advantages. Canning further insisted that Infantado's mind be set aright on the guarantee of Cuba. By what right, he inquired, could the United States department of state decree that one belligerent power shall not attack? To him it amounted to becoming a direct party to the war. This last response of Spain, Canning concluded, "destroys the hope, if it does not destroy the desire, of being useful".⁵⁴

By a dispatch of October 6, 1826, the English renewed their insistence despite the fact that all forms of advice appeared exhausted and that English interest now hardly extended beyond justice and humanity.⁵⁵ Yet the mediation of England was still Hurtado's express desire, and Dawkins reported that the same sentiment permeated the Panama Congress. In this very month of October, Lamb let the Spanish government know that silence would be considered as a total and unqualified refusal of reconciliation and thus reported to the Americans. The failure of French and Russian pressure and the unfavorable Spanish note to Secretary Everett were taken as a refusal by England, which, while willing to render service, held the time past for offering it.⁵⁶ And thus ended Canning's "amicable and furious correspondence".⁵⁷ Henceforth British efforts were never shot through with the same eagerness and enthusiasm.

For four years after 1826, British diplomatic interest in the recognition of the colonies by the mother country was expressed only in a few desultory remarks. The American question was now quiet. England could no longer urge recognition without becoming ridiculous. Notwithstanding, occasional dispatches attested to the omnipresence of the question. The new ambassador, Bosanquet, in the spring of 1828, wrote to

⁵⁴ F. O., Spain, 72/312, Canning to Lamb, 1 July, 1826.

⁵⁵ F. O., Spain, 72/313, Canning to Lamb, 11 October, 1826.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 October, 1826; 72/316, Lamb to Canning, 2 June, 2 August, 1826.

⁵⁷ J. Bagot, *George Canning and his Friends*, p. 152.

the Earl of Dudley⁵⁸ that the American question was again being considered, probably without the participation of Ofalia who would not dare recommend recognition as he had been accused of selling himself to England upon a former offer of mediation. Although not sanguine, Bosanquet believed that mere consideration was a point gained and asserted that there were numerous advocates of reconciliation if they only dared speak out. In this view no doubt he was right, for within three months the consulado of Cadiz, a body well qualified to understand the situation, addressed a most respectful memorial to the king favoring the recognition of America, although even so late as 1830 no one dared to present it to him.⁵⁹

But England was shaken from this unavoidable inactivity when it learned of a Spanish expedition which was fitting out at Havana against Mexico. Bosanquet urged that the publication of the opinion of his Majesty's government would serve to discountenance the expedition.⁶⁰ To the next ambassador, Addington, Aberdeen held up this new step as demonstrating lack of progress in terminating difficulties. It also made Cuba, Aberdeen pointed out, a center of insurrection and strife which might be followed by the intervention of the United States. Addington was accordingly instructed to protest in the strongest manner possible in friendship.⁶¹ The minister was, however, upbraided⁶² for protesting in writing, for it was believed that this might preclude further remonstrance.

Prince Polignac was now (1830) broaching the question of a Spanish prince for Mexico, but it was the opinion of the English minister that neither the Spanish king nor the Mexicans would accept him.⁶³

⁵⁸ F. O., Spain, 72/340, Bosanquet to the Earl of Dudley, 28 April, 1828.

⁵⁹ F. O., Spain, 72/341, Bosanquet to Aberdeen, 30 July, 1828.

⁶⁰ F. O., Spain, 72/365, Bosanquet to Aberdeen, 18 January, 1830.

⁶¹ F. O., Spain, 72/366, Aberdeen to Addington, 17 February, 1830.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 19 March, 1830.

⁶³ F. O., Spain, 72/368, Addington to Aberdeen, 15 April, 1830.

Under Palmerston pressure for Spanish recognition of Hispanic America was again exerted as it always was upon the slightest possibility of success. The English ambassador received urgent instructions to press the Spanish government to recognize the independence "pure and simple" of the whole of the Spanish American states.⁶⁴ Accordingly, Addington took advantage of reports in the French journals concerning the arrival of Mexican commissioners in Havana to negotiate for recognition by Spain and spoke to Secretary Salmon. That minister replied that he knew nothing of the report,⁶⁵ but "I observed to M. Salmon", continued Addington,

in a half-serious half-jocular tone that notwithstanding I believed him and his colleagues to be incorrigible on the subject of Spanish American independence, I should take the liberty of once more telling his excellency that the Spanish govt. had committed an egregious fault in not acknowledging that independence long since; and every day that passed, that error was assuming a deeper dye.

Here he depicted the advantages Spain had already forfeited, and contended that a real equivalent was the great extension which would accrue to Spanish trade from reopening the American ports to Spanish vessels. Such a privilege Addington regarded as worth the renunciation of a barren and empty title. Clearly the Spanish government was wavering. Spain, remarked Secretary Salmon, was not incorrigible, but more pressing affairs had submerged the American question, and in any event Spain could not admit independence before negotiations. Addington cited the treaty of 1783. The advantages which Canning had stressed were now expected. Such a suggestion Addington countered by showing that other powers already had as great privileges as could be conferred on any foreign power, Spain included. Still Salmon appeared to believe himself in possession of a high card,

⁶⁴ F. O., Spain, 72/395, Addington to Palmerston, 2 December, 1832.

⁶⁵ F. O., Spain, 72/379, Addington to Palmerston, 26 May, 1831.

probably the idea of Spanish American monarchies. "I saw", summarized Addington,

that it was useless to press the matter further at this moment, but I think I have of late perceived, both in M. Salmon and in M. Ballesteros, a disposition to look upon the question of recognition of American independence with less morbid disfavor than heretofore: as if they had begun to accustom their minds to view that recognition as not so totally out of the pale of possibility as they did some time ago.⁶⁶

Late in the year he could cite the Spanish wish to prevent a clash with Great Britain and Spain's tendency toward reconciliation with America in answer to Palmerston's inquiry concerning a Spanish-Russian convention against Mexico, reported without proper foundation by the Mexican minister.⁶⁷

In 1832, the Duke of San Fernando was "desired by some friends of his", probably the queen, to learn if Great Britain would concur in case the king, who was violently prejudiced, could be induced to recognize Mexico under the sovereignty of one of his brothers. Ambassador Addington thereupon began to press recognition pure and simple, without a proviso or peculiar scheme of government, in fact, with the understanding that the states should be recognized under the existing governments. He had, however, failed in his attempt to carry out Wellington's instructions as well as subsequent ones. Neither the former British government nor the present government, the ambassador added, had any view of recognition except of the simplest nature. He repeated that armed force would be opposed by Great Britain and added that while Britain preferred monarchy to a republic, the new world would not tolerate a despot of the old world type. Duke Fernando urged the preference of Britain for monarchy and the encroachments of the United States in "Tyas" [Texas]

⁶⁶ F. O., Spain, 72/379, Addington to Palmerston, 26 May, 1831.

⁶⁷ F. O., Spain, 72/379, Palmerston to Addington, 9 November, 1831; 72/381, Addington to Palmerston, 12 December, 1831; 72/391, Addington to Palmerston, 23 February, 1832.

in case of recognition according to Britain's scheme, but he naturally left the question to the ministry. Addington concluded with reference to the king's obstinacy:

Unless his intellect gives way under his bodily infirmities, I can give your Lordship no hope of our attaining the end which we desire with regard to Spanish America.⁶⁸

Whenever they chose, Spanish officials completely stalled conversation on the question of recognizing America by very perplexingly connecting it with the Portuguese question in which Britain stood opposed to Spain.⁶⁹

Palmerston completely approved Addington's discreet course with Duke San Fernando:

H.M. Govt. undoubtedly think that the recognition of the New American states by Spain and the conclusion of peace between Spain and those states would be an arrangement most fortunate for the civilized world, and highly advantageous to the real interests of Spain herself. H.M. Govt. would feel no less pride than satisfaction if they were able to contribute to the accomplishment of so desirable a consummation; but while the Portuguese question is pending H.M. Govt. do not deem it expedient to make any fresh communication to the Spanish govt. upon the tender subject of American affairs.

The evidence tended to show that nothing but overwhelming force would induce the American states to accept a king, and that king a Spaniard. It was generally believed that armed force would in all probability fail as the former attempts of Spain to retain or recover its American dominion had failed. In that contingency, if Palmerston could have his way, England would not remain passive.⁷⁰

Again on September 9, 1833, the foreign office issued instructions to the new ambassador, Villiers, at Madrid. The real welfare of Spain, the progress of civilization in the new

⁶⁸ F. O., Spain, 72/395, Addington to Palmerston, 2 December, 1832.

⁶⁹ F. O., Spain, 72/390, Palmerston to Addington, 3 December, 1832.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 28 December, 1832.

world, and the commercial interests of Great Britain urgently required Spanish acknowledgment of the new republics, ran these instructions. Palmerston, who had frequently interviewed Zea, the Spanish secretary of state, when he was in London, accurately summed up his and the Spanish view during Spain's last days of irreconcilability.

His [Zea's] notion seemed to be, that the American states would be driven to seek in the arms of Spain a refuge from the miseries of internal anarchy, and that they would return like prodigal offspring with repentant submission to the parental embrace, forgetting that what he styled triumphant anarchy presupposed the ascendancy of a party. . . . Another idea which seemed not to appear altogether chimerical to M. de Zea was that some of these states might ask for, or accept, princes of the royal family of Spain as their sovereign.

The foreign office stressed the futility of arms, and the fact that Great Britain had already acknowledged most of these republics. Spain supposed that intercourse with democracies using the Spanish language and institutions would endanger absolute monarchy. These dangers, the English apprehended, could not be diminished by further delay.

In view of the delicate situation, Villiers, replacing Ad-dington, was instructed to conform his language to the sentiments of the British government and not to make any specific proposition, but to communicate with the government should it appear that this would be attended with advantage.⁷¹

The conflict between the queen regent and Don Carlos now monopolized the Spanish stage,⁷² as the Portuguese question had done previously, to the exclusion of the American problem. Secretary Zea was soon dismissed and Martínez de la Rosa appointed in his stead.⁷³

With the ministry of Martínez de la Rosa, Spanish sentiment became unmistakable. Villiers learned of the intention

⁷¹ F. O., Spain, 72/306, Palmerston's instructions to Canning, 9 December, 1833.

⁷² F. O., Spain, 72/309, 310, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316, *passim*.

⁷³ F. O., Spain, 72/420, Villiers to Palmerston, 10 June, 1834.

of the Spanish government to recognize the Brazils⁷⁴ and took advantage of the knowledge to urge the recognition of the Spanish-American provinces, as an act of sound policy and justice too long delayed, before the meeting of a cortes which had already once shown its narrow views and prejudices on the subject. Then Martínez de la Rosa was pressed to accept the credentials of General Montilla, representing the leading Spanish-American *de facto* governments. After some discussion Martínez de la Rosa said he could no longer contemplate difficulties and agreed to supply General Montilla with passports for coming to Madrid to begin negotiations for recognizing the states which Montilla was charged to represent.⁷⁵ In accordance with the instructions of the British government its minister presented the request of General Montilla that a person might be appointed to negotiate a treaty between Spain and Venezuela. Martínez de la Rosa now readily expressed the willingness of the Spanish government to recognize the Spanish American states and to enter into friendly relations with them. The Spanish minister himself agreed to negotiate the treaty upon terms of perfect equality and, he hoped, reciprocal advantages, if General Montilla would accept the invitation of the Spanish government to come to Madrid. The former asked that Palmerston be informed of his readiness to comply with the British wishes and to receive any authorized agents of the South American states who were desirous of negotiating treaties with Spain upon the same terms as those accorded General Montilla.⁷⁶ Next year General Soublette was sent from Venezuela *via* England to Madrid.⁷⁷

As the matter of acknowledgment approached its consummation, it became increasingly apparent that British

⁷⁴ F. O., Spain, 72/420, "Official Article" concerning the appointment of Dalanot Charge d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, 7 June, 1834.

⁷⁵ F. O., Spain, 72/423, Villiers to Palmerston, 5 May, 1834.

⁷⁶ F. O., Spain, 72/427, Villiers to Palmerston, 16 September, 1834.

⁷⁷ F. O., Spain, 72/339, Wellington to Villiers, 10 March, 1835.

wishes had been appreciably altered. In 1823, in a conference with Prince de Polignac, Canning had disclaimed any inclination to appropriate any part of the Spanish colonies and expressed England's willingness to be ranked after the mother country on terms of equality with other powers. This memorandum obviously referred to a particular period and had the particular object of inducing Spain to make treaties of peace with those provinces already declared independent.⁷⁸ But that policy was evidently abandoned after Spain was

so repeatedly, but in vain urged by Great Britain to recognize their independence, and to obtain for herself advantages which no other nation would have then disputed or complained of.

About this juncture, moreover, Britain proposed that Spain cede the British settlement in Honduras in order to take it out of the range of the discussions between Spain and South America and made the whole Central American question contingent upon this cession.⁷⁹ In the negotiations the English ambassador accused the American minister of bad faith and called the attention of Martínez de la Rosa to the unfounded merit claimed by the United States in determining the bent of American affairs.

General Soublette concurred in the British view that the treaty which Count Toreno, successor to Martínez de la Rosa, had requested him to draft should avoid details. With this document Toreno was dissatisfied, because it included no offer of advantage to Spain or reparation for damages to Spanish subjects. Villiers answered this complaint by expressing England's intention to claim the same position as Spain. He also pointed out that the United States and France would possibly do likewise.⁸⁰ Villiers availed himself, however, of every opportunity which presented itself

⁷⁸ F. O., Spain, 72/339, Villiers to Wellington, 19 March, 1835.

⁷⁹ F. O., Spain, 72/339, Wellington to Villiers, 12 March, 1835.

⁸⁰ F. O., Spain, 72/341, Villiers to Wellington, 18 April, 1835.

to facilitate negotiations between the Spanish government and General Soublette. Little progress was made after the report of the cabinet in 1834 which thought the colonies eager to sacrifice greatly for recognition, for Martínez de la Rosa delayed in order to avoid the responsibility of terminating Spain's overseas dominion and Toreno followed his example. Santa María, the Mexican delegate, refused Toreno's invitation to come to Madrid. Toreno showed some asperity and threatened to use the Mexican loyal party. Soublette requested a year in which to persuade Santa María to comply with Toreno's request.⁸¹ Upon Palmerston's urging, Santa María wrote Soublette his decision to repair to Madrid with a view to terminating in a satisfactory manner the question of recognition.

The whole question was now referred to the council of regency. Villiers, upon request of Toreno, who was apprehensive of differences in the council, visited the duke of Ahumada in order to bring him into line, but found him still expecting some commercial advantages. Of this misconception Villiers relieved him and elicited from him the statement that equality was the only basis upon which to treat and the promise to recommend this course in the council of regency.

But the business of negotiation did not proceed apace. At first Soublette's mission was unsatisfactory. Then both Soublette and Santa María expected the same outcome. Again, the Spanish minister dallied. Santa María appealed to Villiers on the ground of the war in Texas and the conduct of the United States, but Villiers replied that so long as the claims of British subjects in Mexico were unsettled, Great Britain would not consider Mexico as having any claim to the good offices of Great Britain. On February 27, 1836, Villiers reported to his government that the negotiations, in which the South American delegates had consulted him at every step, were no more advanced than on the day when Soublette arrived in Madrid.

⁸¹ F. O., Spain, 72/357, Villiers to Palmerston, 17 and 21 February, 1836.

It now devolved upon the British minister to prevent the new secretary, Mendizabal, from carrying the whole South American affair before the cortes. No minister, said Mendizabal, could assume responsibility for the disarmament of an empire. Mandizabal abandoned the idea but answered Soubllette's project with a counter proposal for a reduction of one half on duties as levied on other countries. Against such family arrangements of mutual commercial advantages, which England had first urged and then conveniently decided to deny, the British protested vigorously.⁸² Mina, now the Mexican agent, presented, upon the advice of the English minister, an able, temperate, and convincing note on Mexico's previous engagements, but Mendizabal's insistence on the sanction of the cortes brought Mina and Soubllette to the verge of demanding their passports. But in view of the time already spent the English minister advised them to wait for the cortes which was to assemble seven weeks later.

As grandiloquent as stubborn, the keynote of the queen's speech before the cortes was:

It is high time that two people whom nature made brethern should become forever friends, and that the bonds of subordination and dependence being dissolved, others shall succeed them more gentle and more lasting—those of equality and concord founded upon reciprocal advantages.

The report of the special committee on recognition was accepted unanimously and without a word against the general measure. In the same month, Spain stood ready to issue a royal decree, placing the subjects and commerce of Mexico on the footing of a friendly nation and to sign an international treaty. Such was the news which the United States, displaying unseemingly haste, dispatched southward in a special ship to her sister republics.

Thus, in a quarter century, British negotiation on the Spanish American question had passed through four phases.

⁸² F. O., 72/478, Villiers to Palmerston, 11 February, 1837.

Vacillating under the continental statesmanship of Castlereagh, England, between 1810 and 1822, held aloof as far as possible from a question rapidly becoming the obsession of Americans like Henry Clay. In the second phase, from 1822 to 1824, Britain absolutely opposed foreign partitions, but favored a commercial entente between Spain and its lost colonies or even Bourbon princes for the new world. British diplomacy also employed its wiles to induce Spain to have the grace to precede England and the rest of Europe in the inevitable recognition of the new states. This policy reached a grand crescendo under Canning in 1824 when Spain was informed that the use of a commercial interdiction would elicit English recognition of Spain's late colonies and the employment of foreign armies require the acquiescence of the British navy. But after numerous and futile overtures to Spain, Canning resolved in the same year no longer to hold English recognition contingent upon that of Spain. In the third period, between 1824 and 1826, interspersed with months of tactical but ominous silence, English memorials and protests to Spain—which after England's recognition of the new world had one reason less for pleasing that country—insisted that the danger of losing Cuba through invasion and revolution, England's willingness to guarantee the island, and the trade and best interests of Spain, all rendered imperative a step already irrevocably decided. After the fall of San Juan de Ulloa in 1826, however, England would no longer support commercial concessions for Spain. The American question then dropped into comparative silence for a span of four years. Willing to render service to Spain in avoiding an error every day assuming "a deeper dye", although holding the time past for offering it, England began its last and desultory period of pressure—that of Palmerston. With no inducements to offer but the behests of commerce, civilization, and the welfare of Spain itself, England, between 1830 and 1836, sometimes raised the American ques-

tion "in a half-serious, half-jocular" vein, only to be goaded at other times by rumors of coercive expeditions and the growing fear of Yankee imperialism, into more serious effort on behalf of "pure and simple" Spanish recognition of the new world offspring.

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THE EARL OF WARWICK, A SPECULATOR IN PIRACY

Elizabethan pirates and their adventures are well known, but their immediate successors have not received as much attention as is due them in view of the extent and importance of their operations. The Anglo-Spanish peace of 1604 caused many, who had hitherto sought fortune and adventure in piracy along the Spanish main, to look for some profitable use of their capital and ships that was not frowned upon by the government. This hastened the effort to found trading posts in the west such as those of the east. The profits of piracy, however, were too alluring for others, and plundering expeditions continued on a larger scale than has often been supposed.

James I. might disapprove such activities but he could not prevent them. He might refuse to grant the papers which had supported Elizabethan privateers, but other princes were willing enough to issue such commissions in consideration of the large sums which wealthy English merchants were willing to pay. It was a common practice for rulers to increase their military strength with recruits furnished by some nobleman of a neutral country in return for a money payment. It was, therefore, no unusual departure for a prince to add to his maritime power by granting commissions to neutral citizens to prey upon the commerce of his enemy. It was doubly advantageous in the case of Englishmen, for they were willing to pay a considerable sum for the right to enjoy the plunder taken, thus permitting a ruler to add to his revenue and weaken the power of his rival at one stroke.

Other factors encouraged the continuance of piracy. There was no adequate policing nor means of defense against

these sea rovers. Spanish sea power had been broken. The English navy was rapidly passing into a decadent state. Captains who had gone to the expense of fitting out their ships, once at sea, too often had no qualms about indemnifying themselves at the expense of any one so unfortunate as to cross their path. This practice was encouraged by the general rule of no plunder, no pay under which men were enlisted for such voyages. The larger the plunder, the larger was the share of each individual connected with the voyage. And when it was not safe to bring the booty into an English harbor, it was not very difficult to find some foreign port where the prize could be disposed of profitably.

Efforts of James to curb piracy proved ineffective. Officials were susceptible to large bribes, which the adventures could easily offer. Raleigh in 1618 felt that he would have been safe in taking the Plate Fleet, declaring that he could have given ten thousand here and twenty thousand there and still have had six hundred thousand for the king.¹ Ships were sent out by James with license to capture pirates, but the temptation was too strong for these to become pirates, and, as Sir Thomas Roe complained, this became "a Common Pretence of beeing Piratts".² Honest merchant ships went armed for protection, but when opportunity was offered they, too, often plundered as a sideline.³ In 1612, it was arranged to return the Persian ambassador, Sir Robert Shirley, to his post in some other way than "with English ships and sailors" for fear that they would turn pirates once they were in so remote a region.⁴

Moreover, public opinion did not condemn a man for legitimate privateering, and throughout the first half of the seventeenth century it was difficult to distinguish between a

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1611-1618, p. 577.

² Roe to East India Company, February 14, 1617/18, Original Correspondence in the India Office (hereinafter cited as O. C.), V. 610.

³ L. P. Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford, 1907), I. 73.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1611-1618, p. 149.

privateer and a pirate. The legal distinction rested upon the possession of papers warranting their plundering expeditions, but, papers or no papers, there was little difference in their actions. Needless to say the Spanish made no distinction between them. The only advantage in having papers lay in the right to bring captures into port where they might be declared legal prize. Englishmen made a distinction based upon friendship or enmity. Friends referred to such deeds as legitimate privateering; enemies did not hesitate to use the term piracy. Moreover, one of the best criterions was that of Raleigh's famous statement that no one was called a pirate for millions but only for small things was such a term used.⁵ It is necessary to use the terms interchangeably. The most important of seventeenth century plunderers usually had papers of some sort, and it was easy to establish the legality of their activities in a none too critical public eye.

The attitude of the lower merchant classes toward pirates was that of one of Heywood's characters, who declared

Here they vent many brave commodities,
By which some gain accrews. Th' are my good customers,
And still returne me profit.⁶

Many of this class found employment as sailors on such expeditions. The Venetian ambassador wrote in 1620: "With regard to the mass of the populace, which has acquired such wealth by privateering, and among the common people in particular, they are not in ill repute".⁷ Too many of the upper classes were engaged in privateering as a part of their commercial interests or were receiving some of the returns therefrom for any strong opposition to arise. It is not surprising that England appeared to outsiders as a nation having "no scruples about piracy".⁸

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 577.

⁶ Thomas Heywood, "The faire Maid of the West".

⁷ Lande to Doge and Senate, August 10, 1620, *Cal. Venetian State Papers*, XVI. 488.

⁸ Contarini to Doge and Senate, May 30, 1628, in *ibid.*, XXI. 146.

English settlements in the new world were in most cases open to pirates as bases of operation and trading stations. Especially was this true in the West Indies, where, in fact, settlement was sometimes partly due to the desire for such bases. When communications and supplies from England were infrequent and uncertain, colonists naturally welcomed the supplies brought in by chance ships, purchased them, and asked no questions. Another motive for making their ports free to these men was the fear that they might otherwise turn in vengeance upon their own countrymen.⁹

Under these conditions piracy flourished, and no better illustration of this fact can be found than in the adventures of Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick. As a colonizer, a puritan, an outstanding opponent of Charles I., and a parliamentary lord high admiral during the civil war he is well known to students of the seventeenth century, but his career as a privateer has never received the attention due the greatest of the successors of Drake and Raleigh. This phase of his activities is of interest because it epitomizes the whole history of privateering in one of its most interesting periods. It is a story which may be divided into four distinct periods, the first of which corresponds roughly to the reign of James I., in which captains became out-and-out pirates or associated themselves with men like Warwick, who were wealthy enough to secure commissions from some foreign prince.

⁹ Governor Butler wrote from Somers Islands in 1620: ". . . In your general letters you seem to be in great fear lest the receipt of such as you please to term pirates should cause the Spaniard to attempt upon us. And why may you not misdoubt lest the exclusion of such as are our friends (an act for ought I know even against the law of nations) may produce the same effect with them, and cause them to make the same war upon us that they do on the Spaniard in the West Indies, since the grounds are one and the same? The people here, I can assure you take the inhibition in another sense, and begin to talk that these strict courses against their admittance are only set on foot for fear lest the poor inhabitants here, by getting some refreshment and clothing from them, should not be tied (as hitherto) to the cut-throat prices of the Magazine Ship".—Butler to Nathaniel Rich, October 23, 1620, Manchester Papers, 284.

Warwick's first ventures were in conjunction with his father, with whom, as Gardiner declared, piracy had degenerated into a mere commercial speculation. Under Elizabeth he had built up one of the largest private fleets in England, by the use of which he had added considerably to one of the greatest fortunes of the country—a fortune founded by the infamous Richard Rich under Henry VIII. This same fortune enabled him to rise to the peerage in 1618 as the earl of Warwick. His death shortly thereafter left his fortune, fleet, and title to his son, from whom came their fame.

In 1616, Lord Rich had sent out three ships with license to capture pirates,¹⁰ but unknown to his king he also had a commission for preying on the Spanish, which he had secured in return for a large money payment from the duke of Savoy.¹¹ Two of these ships proceeded to the West Indies. After two years of plundering they returned to Europe, but went to Villafranca because the demand of the Spanish ambassador and certain officials of the Indies companies for redress for the seizure of the ships made it inadvisable to return to England.¹² In the same year the young Rich and Philip Barnardo, a Genoese merchant of London, sent out two other ships under similar license to capture pirates. These, too, were sailing under false colors and held commissions for privateering from the duke of Savoy and the duke of Florence.¹³ These ships proceeded to the Red Sea, where they gave chase to a ship belonging to no less a person than the queen mother of the Great Mogul, the cargo of which was valued at one hundred thousand pounds.¹⁴ The chance appear-

¹⁰ Lionello to Doge and Senate, February 10, 1617, *Cal. Venetian State Papers*, XIV. 437.

¹¹ An agent of the duke of Savoy had been in England that year. One may follow the mission of this agent and the attention shown him by Rich in volume XIII of the *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*.

¹² Contarini to Doge and Senate, May 31, 1618, in *ibid.*, XV. 376.

¹³ Abbott to Roe, February 19, 1618/19, P. R. O., S. P., 14/105, p. 118.

¹⁴ Pory to Carleton, October 25, 1618, P. R. O., S. P. 14/105, p. 46.

ance of the East India Company's ships on the way out from England alone prevented their taking the ship.

Had the ships of Rich succeeded in robbing the powerful ruler in this way the effect on English trade and influence in the east would have been most disastrous. Captain Pring, who was in command of the fleet which rescued the ship, wrote the East India Company:

. . . I praise God with all my heart that we lighted so on them for if they had taken the Junk and known to be English (which could not long have been concealed) all your goods in this country could not have made satisfaction according to their desire and that is commonly their law in these cases.¹⁵

Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador at the Mogul's court, declared that had they succeeded

your goods and our persons had answered it. I ordered the seizure of the ships, prizes, and goods, and converted them to your use and must now tell you if you be not round in some course with these men you will have the seas full, and your trade in India is utterly lost, and our lives exposed to pledge in the hands of Moors. I am loath to lie in irons for any man's faults but mine own. I love Sir Robert Rich well and you may be pleased to do him any curtesy in restitution because he was abused, but I must say, if you give way, you give encouragement. . . . For Barnardo, I doubt not you will be sensible of his plot and call him into question. He gets the Duke of Savoy's commission, but the faces are all English. . . . If you suffer rovers in these seas, there must be no traders. It is hard to prove to these people the difference of merchant and pirate if all of a nation, or if you could prove it I am unwilling to lie for a pawn until certificate came out of Europe.¹⁶

Edward Monox wrote from Persia a similar letter declaring that had they taken the ship "God knows how it would have stood with our trade in these parts."¹⁷ The tone of these letters is easily understood when it is recalled that it had been

¹⁵ Pring to East India Co., November 12, 1617, O. C., V. 564.

¹⁶ Roe to East India Co., February 14, 1617/18, O. C., V. 610.

¹⁷ Monox to *ibid.*, December 28, 1617, O. C., V. 586.

so recently as 1616 that Sir Thomas Roe had secured privileges of trade for the English in the dominions of the Great Mogul.

The news of this affair caused much feeling among the members of the India Company. Rich, on the other hand, felt himself greatly injured by the interference and capture of his ships, and there followed a dispute extending over ten years. The feeling of the first months wore off, and the dispute resolved itself into fruitless and repeated efforts at an agreement. Finally, in 1628, Warwick took the matter before the house of lords,¹⁸ where a committee brought a compromise on four thousand pounds damages to Warwick.¹⁹ Thus ended the first great dispute arising out of Warwick's privateering.

The second dispute that came out of his adventures under these foreign commissions was with the officers of the Virginia Company. In 1618 he fitted out the famous *Treasurer* under the command of Captain Daniel Elfrith.²⁰ This ship proceeded to the West Indies and engaged in plundering the Spanish. Captain Samuel Argall, a friend of Warwick, was at that time governor of Virginia, and this ship, as well as others similarly engaged, was allowed rights of trade and provisioning in the Virginia harbor. Early in 1619, it set sail from Virginia under pretense of getting salt and goats for the needs of the colony.²¹

In the meantime there had been a complete reorganization of the Virginia Company and its affairs. Argall was removed in favor of Captain George Yeardley, who arrived at Jamestown in January, 1619. There was strong opposition in the company to the encouragement of piracy, and Elfrith's reception upon his return to Virginia was such that he sailed in

¹⁸ *Journals of the House of Lords*, III. 837.

¹⁹ Court Book of the East India Co., X. 406-408, 410-412. The whole dispute may be followed in the Court Books in the India Office.

²⁰ A. P. Newton, *Colonizing Activities of English Puritans* (New Haven, 1914), p. 35.

²¹ Manchester Papers, 279.

considerable haste for the Somers Islands, leaving, however, one of the ship's minor officers, who when put on oath by the governor admitted that they had been robbing the Spanish. Yeardeley had already informed the company that there was constant rumor "that this ship had gone to rob the King of Spain's subjects by seeking pillage in the West Indies and that this was done by direction from my Lord of Warwick."²² The confirmation of this rumor was received by Sir Edwin Sandys, who with the support of Warwick had in April displaced Smith as governor of the company.

The steps taken by Sandys on the receipt of this news caused as much bitterness as any incident in the historic quarrel that split the Virginia Company. The effect was to throw Warwick and his friends definitely on the side of Smith and Johnson in bitter opposition to Sandys, Southampton, and the Ferrars. Without notifying Warwick, Sandys assembled the Virginia Council, made public the contents of the letter, and declared it to be their duty to notify the king's council. He also went to the Spanish ambassador, the famous Gondomar, and assured him that the company was in no way connected with the activities of the ship.²³ This action involved no little danger to Warwick, for it suddenly threatened him with the confiscation of his ship and goods and exposed him to considerable personal danger. The influence of Gondomar at the English court is well known, and the recent beheading of Raleigh had emphasized the opposition of James to piracy, particularly as directed against Spain. Warwick naturally was very bitter.

The affair of the *Treasurer* continued to play an important part in the disputes of the Virginia Company until its final disruption in 1623. One of the points in contention between the two factions was the reception of pirates in the Ber-

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, I. 30.

mudas,²⁴ and one of the charges against the Warwick faction was that they aided and abetted these illegal practices.²⁵

With this beginning Warwick undoubtedly continued his privateering throughout the remaining years of the reign of James I., but there were no outstanding achievements or disputes to leave a record of his undertakings. Enough has been said to show that the reign of James was one of open piracy or privateering under foreign papers. Such activities at times led to complications with the new commercial companies and with the government. No better evidence, however, of the inability of James to control this piracy can be found than the elevation of Lord Rich to the peerage in the very midst of the expeditions recounted above. James opposed piracy, but he also needed money!

The war with Spain, begun in 1625, ushered in the second period of seventeenth century privateering, in which Warwick and other Englishmen were able to prosecute their adventures under the protection of their own flag. A large number of letters of marque were issued during the following years, an action heartily approved by the public.²⁶ There are listed in the *Calendar of State Papers* over a thousand letters of marque and commissions to take pirates during the five

²⁴ Manchester Papers, 275.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 360. One point should be cleared up in passing. Several writers on the Virginia dispute have left the impression that perhaps the ship was not acting at Warwick's direction, but that Argall was taking advantage of him. This has been due to a use of the report of the Historical Manuscript Commission alone, which quotes from document 261 of the Manchester Papers only the line reading, "it was Captain Argall's unworthy boldness to use your Lordship's name as a bolster to his unwarrantable actions". A reading of the entire document shows plainly that Warwick was back of the ship's actions. It is a letter from Dutton to Warwick telling him of the arrival of the *Treasurer* at the Somers Islands and that he had made the statement quoted above in order to cover up Warwick's part in the affair. Further proof can be found in a letter from Governor Butler, document 275 of the Manchester Papers.

²⁶ Pesaro to Doge and Senate, September 23, 1625, *Cal. Venetian State Papers*, XIX, 246.

years of war.²⁷ Many of these grants allowed the use of the papers on more than one ship, and thus the number of English ships engaged in legal piracy was extraordinarily large.

Ships sent out under these papers soon filled the seas, causing embarrassment to the shipping of all nations. The attack on French commerce carried them into the Mediterranean, a new step in English privateering. It is true that English pirates had already infested the Mediterranean, but never before had English privateers been commissioned to operate in those waters. Injured Mediterranean states were quick to protest. Particularly did Venice complain.²⁸ Warwick was no doubt engaged in some of this business so irritating to neutral states, but Sir Kenelm Digby, who received in 1627 a royal commission,²⁹ drew upon the English government the loudest complaints.

Warwick's chief attention during the early part of the war was given to fortifying Harwich in Essex, and he was not personally so active as he otherwise might have been in the privateering of the first years of the war. Nevertheless, his ships were not inactive. There are records of warrants for the issuance of three letters of marque to Warwick in 1626.³⁰ In the minutes of the East India Company there is mention of the great charges he had been put to in setting forth ships for the West Indies during that year.³¹ There are also several scattered notes of a few prizes taken by his captains,³² although none of them were of unusual value.

Late in 1626, he was removed from the lieutenantship of

²⁷ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1628-1629, pp. 285-309, 1629-1631, pp. 151-156, 467-471.

²⁸ *The Calendar of Venetian State Papers* for these years records numerous complaints by the Venetian ambassadors in London.

²⁹ John Bruce, ed., *Journal of a Voyage into the Mediterranean by Sir Kenelm Digby*, Camden Society, 1867.

³⁰ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1628-1629, pp. 289, 291.

³¹ Court Book, IX. 467.

³² *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1625-1626, pp. 462, 491, 1627-1628, p. 5; *Hist. Mss. Comm. Reports*, XII. Part I, 288.

Essex because of the hostility of Buckingham.³³ And now, despite the opposition of Buckingham, Warwick came to the front in the privateering of the succeeding years of the war, for his fleet was entirely too valuable to be disregarded at a time when the royal navy was in so miserable a condition. With three large and ample commissions modeled after that granted to Cumberland by Elizabeth, he scoured the seas in the three remaining years of the war in search of plunder.³⁴

It is difficult to say what success Warwick met in his adventures under these commissions. His expedition in 1627 was a total loss for him and his partners.³⁵ The terms of the commission of that year indicate that he intended a voyage to the West Indies. Perhaps some of his ships did engage in plundering expeditions there, but the main venture, of which he took personal command, did not strike in that direction. Instead, he went down to the Iberian coast with some six or seven ships to await the coming of the Brazilian fleet with the hope of plundering it. His efforts netted him nothing more than an unusual adventure and a very narrow escape. On the 4th of July he mistook the Spanish armada for the Brazilian fleet, attacked, and, after passing through the entire armada, escaped only because of the confusion resulting from so unexpected an attack and the aid of a dense fog. His fleet was separated and one part lost from the other. With damaged ships and a crew sickened with fever, he was forced shortly to return home empty handed with only half of his ships.³⁶ His vice-admiral, Sir Francis Stewart, after much

³³ Thomas Birch, *Court and Times of Charles I* (London, 1848), I. 149-150.

³⁴ The provisions of the commissions for 1627 and 1628 may be found in the P. R. O., S. P. 16/57, 49; S. P. 16/60, 37; S. P. 16/121, 71, 93. A similar commission was granted late in 1629. See R. G. Marsden, ed., *Law and Custom of the Sea*, Navy Records Society, 1915, I. 457-460.

³⁵ Warwick secured the commission, but in financing the undertaking he was associated with several London merchants (*Hist. Mss. Comm. Reports*), XII., Part I, 297.

³⁶ Warwick's account of the expedition is preserved in the P. R. O., S. P. 16/72, 9 I. This paper is printed in the *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club*, Edinburgh, 1837, I. 189 *et seq.*

the same experience returned with the remainder of the fleet in October.³⁷ We have no record of the character of his expeditions under the other commissions.

His privateering in these years was not confined to the expeditions under the royal commissions. In 1627, he had letters of marque for eleven ships,³⁸ and there may have been more of which there are no records. Not more than half that number were with him on his famous expedition. There are records of the issuance of such papers to two more ships in the remaining years of the war.³⁹ Scattered notices or reports of prizes taken by Warwick, however, are all that we have concerning the success of these other attempts. On the whole his efforts in these years were disappointing. During 1628 and 1629, however, certain of his ships were taking steps in the West Indies which led to the settlement of the island of Santa Catalina,⁴⁰ which, renamed Providence, was in the next decade to be of great aid in a profitable piracy.

It was in this third period that Warwick achieved his greatest success as a privateer, a success which continued into the fourth period, the years of the civil war. The closing of hostilities in 1630 brought no abatement in Warwick's private war on Spain. From this time on his interests were centered in the West Indies, and his privateering was carried forward mainly through his connection with the famous Providence Island Company, the history of which has been ably treated by Professor Newton.⁴¹ To go into the history of this company, which did so much to preserve Elizabethan ideals of hostility to Spain and was so great a part of the connecting link between Elizabeth and the "western design" of Cromwell, would be useless repetition. Warwick and his brother,

³⁷ William Ball, master of Stewart's ship, wrote an account which gives Stewart's experiences. It is found in P. R. O., S. P. 16/80, 7.

³⁸ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1628-1629, pp. 296, 297.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 305, 1629-1631, 467.

⁴⁰ A. P. Newton, *Colonizing Activities of English Puritans*, pp. 52-53.

⁴¹ *Colonizing Activities of English Puritans*.

the Earl of Holland, were the beginners in this enterprise. They began planting the colony with the "privity" of the king before the charter was granted in 1630.⁴² Warwick, Pym, Say, and Brook were the leaders in the company, and in addition to increasing their own wealth at the expense of Spain, they learned to work together in a manner of inestimable value to the cause of parliament in the following decade.

Providence Island, located just off the Mosquito coast, was admirably situated for a base of operations against Spanish trade, and such became its chief function as an English colony. One who dips into the two volumes of minutes of the company finds numerous entrances such as that of an agreement with Captain Dell to make a voyage to the West Indies "upon a hostile design for the weakening of the Spaniard and securing the Island of Providence".⁴³ At a meeting of May 23, 1636, there was set down the reasons brought out for settling Association, a neighboring island. With the fruitfulness of the soil, the commodities that could be raised there, and other reasons of a similar nature, was put the "advantage it receives by a neighbourhood to Hispaniola, the fair opportunities of gaining by prizes".⁴⁴ Its greatest fame as a pirates' den came after 1635. The piratical attacks launched from Providence and Tortuga, another island belonging to the Providence Island Company, finally brought retaliation that year in a devastating raid on the Tortuga colony. In consequence, the company was able to secure from Charles I. letters of marque and reprisal upon the subjects of Spain. These letters gave the semblance of legality to a large part of English privateering during the next few years, and made Providence Island the most famous pirates' base in the West Indies. Gage, in recounting a trip along the Mosquito coast in 1637 declared:

The greatest fear that possessed the Spaniards in this voyage, was about the Island of Providence, . . . whence they feared lest some

⁴² P. R. O., C. O. 124/1, pp. 1-10.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, C. O., 124/2, p. 279.

English ships should come against them with great strength. They cursed the English in it, and called the island a den of thieves and pirates, wishing the King of Spain would take some course with it, or else that it would prove very prejudicial to the Spaniards, lying near the mouth of the Desaguadero, and so endangering the frigates of Granada, and standing between Portobel and Cartagena, and so threatening the Galeons, and their King's yearly and mighty treasure.⁴⁵

Warwick not only carried on such operations as a member of the company, but set forth ships on his own behalf. He was able to use the papers and privileges of the company in such undertakings. Thus in October, 1638, it was ordered that Warwick should be

at liberty to employ his two pinnaces, the *Warwick* and the *Robert* now bound for the West Indies in all parts within the limits of the Company's grants. And they shall enjoy all the privileges belonging to the Company's own ships, particularly that they shall have free port at the Island of Providence and all other places within their patent. . . .⁴⁶

Papers were also issued to others outside the company.

These were not the only papers for privateering held by Englishmen in this decade. In 1636, letters for the redress of wrongs were issued against the Spanish and French because of the capture of English ships and the alleged denial of justice.⁴⁷ In 1638, Warwick received a commission empowering him to capture ships and towns in the American seas where free navigation was denied Englishmen.⁴⁸ This commission carried wide powers. There was no limit to the number of armed vessels which he could set forth. Any of the ports and harbors in the dominions of the king were open to his use. He could take, destroy, or keep any towns, islands, or lands be-

⁴⁵ Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West Indies* (London, 1699), p. 451.

⁴⁶ P. R. O., C. O. 124/2, pp. 342-343.

⁴⁷ R. G. Marsden, "Early Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England", II. *English Historical Review*, XXV. 260.

⁴⁸ Sanderson, *Foedera*, XX. 186-189.

longing to any nation denying free navigation to Englishmen. He became governor of any colony he took in this way. The commission was to hold for six months.

With these legal sanctions of his business he centered his attention in these years on the West Indies. He further manifested his interest in this section of the new world by buying in 1638 the rights of the earl of Pembroke in the Montgomery Islands, which included Trinidad, Tobago, St. Bernard, and Barbados.⁴⁹

The adventures of Warwick personally and as a member of the Providence Island Company were remarkably successful. In 1638, the *Providence*, a ship belonging to the Providence Island Company, which was returning from the West Indies, was surprised and captured by a Dunkirk ship off the coast of England. Members of the crew, in testifying to the admiralty court concerning the case, declared that the cargo was worth thirty thousand pounds.⁵⁰ In January, 1640, the case of *Warwick and Secretary con Grove* was before the high court of admiralty.⁵¹ The ship *Warwicke* had been sent by the company to the West Indies. While there it had taken from Spanish ships "great quantities of gold, plate, money, diamonds, pearls, jewels, and other goods and commodities". Grove, who was on board the ship, was charged with having stolen several parcels of this cargo. The sums named as the value of the individual packages he had taken ran from one to five thousand pounds each. The whole cargo must have been of astounding value, if one may judge by these facts given the court.

More eloquent testimony, however, to the great damage done by Warwick and his associates in Spanish America is found in the protests delivered at the English court by Alonzo de Cárdenas, Spanish ambassador in England. Early in the summer of 1640, Cárdenas complained that Warwick, Say,

⁴⁹ Sloane Mss., 3662.

⁵⁰ P. R. O., S. P. 94/42.

⁵¹ P. R. O., H. C. A. 3/102, 9.

Brook, and Pym, having received letters of reprisal for their pretended losses, had yearly sent into the Indies many ships of war under captains, who abusing their commissions had robbed and spoiled his master's subjects. Even had they suffered the pretended losses, he argued that they had surely "had ample satisfaction of them, by those great and rich prizes taken yearly by them". A new expedition then being fitted out under the direction of the earl of Marlborough was the specific incident calling forth this protest. Cárdenas besought the king to prevent the voyage and to consider

the great hurt and prejudice (which must necessarily follow) to the good correspondence, peace, amity, and union between the two Crowns, and to the commerce and trade of your Majesty's kingdoms, which must inevitably result from them, if your Majesty shall permit them to continue their injurious proceedings, hostile attempts, and notorious depredations directly contrary to the Articles of Peace, and undoubtedly intended for the breaking thereof.⁵²

The king on July 8 turned the complaint over to a committee of the privy council, instructing its members that in case they found it just they should cause the said earls and their company to give sufficient security before sailing not to do anything contrary to the peace between the two crowns.⁵³

Three days later, Cárdenas presented another protest to Charles I., showing

That since his several late memorials presented to your Majesty concerning the unjust and dangerous proceedings of the captains of the Earl of Warwick in execution of his pretended Letters of Reprisal against the subjects of the King his Master, he understands there is lately brought in at the Isle of Wight by one, Captain James Reskiner, a ship very richly laden with silver, gold, diamonds, pearls, jewels, and many other precious commodities taken by him in virtue of a commission of the said Earl from the subjects of his Catholic

⁵² Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian Library, 1481. A copy differing from this in some details is printed in Sanderson's *Foedera*, XX. 416.

⁵³ Sanderson, *Foedera*, XX. 416.

Majesty, not only to the inestimable damage and prejudice of the said subjects, (besides the loss also of many of their lives as may justly be presumed) but also to the infinite wrong and dishonour of his said Catholic Majesty, to find himself thus injured and violated, and his subjects thus spoiled, robbed, impoverished and murdered in the highest time of peace, league and amity with your Majesty; and this under the shadow as it were, and pretext of your Majesty's royal authority. . . .⁵⁴

He urged the king to arrest the ships and imprison the crew until closer examination could be made of their actions and proper restitution made to the subjects of the Spanish king.

It cannot be said what response Cárdenas received from these remonstrances. If Charles took any effective action, he was slow in doing so. He had at that time enough of his own troubles to keep him from paying much attention to those of the king of Spain. In the following year the Spanish captured the island of Providence, and the company died out in the midst of the internal strife of England.

Warwick, however, though busy with many new and great responsibilities, continued his war on Spain. Indeed, his hostility to Spain was so open and well known that when he was given the command of the royal navy in 1642 many saw in this action an ulterior motive on the part of parliament, and the Spanish ambassador watched with growing alarm lest the real purpose of the preparations might be a great expedition against Spanish America.⁵⁵ His fears were not altogether ungrounded for the crowning achievement of all Warwick's career as a gentleman pirate came just in the midst of the civil war. Then it was that Captain William Jackson, commissioned and financed by Warwick, made his famous voyage.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ P. R. O., S. P. 94/42.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Venetian State Papers*, XXV. 338, XXVI. 38, 56.

⁵⁶ An account of this expedition, written by a participant and entitled "*Mercurius Americanus*", is preserved in Sloane MSS. 793 or 894. It has been edited by Professor Vincent T. Harlow in volume XIII of the *Camden Miscellany* under the title, *The Voyages of Captain William Jackson*.

In September, 1642, Jackson, with three ships "well appointed and furnished with all manner of warlike provision and necessary habiliments, arrived at Barbados where he published his intent against the Spaniards".⁵⁷ He immediately dispatched one of his ships to St. Christopher, an island some two hundred miles to the northwest, to recruit men for land and sea service. He had no difficulty in securing at Barbados five hundred men on the usual terms of no plunder, no pay. He then turned his attention to fitting for service three pinnaces, small ships of from ten to twelve tons, which were necessary for landing raiding parties and to give chase, being much faster than the ordinary ship.

All preparations being completed, this part of the expedition set sail on November 11, and steered to the southwest for the Testigoes, the appointed rendezvous. They found the party from St. Christopher already arrived. One passing those parts in the next two days would have seen a warlike fleet and preparations of such dimensions as to command respect. There were seven ships in all. The admiral was of three hundred and fifty tons and carried twenty-eight or thirty guns, another was of two hundred and forty tons carrying twenty guns, and a third of one hundred and forty tons had sixteen guns. In addition there were the three pinnaces and a merchant ship "for the more convenient accommodation" of the men.⁵⁸ There were eleven hundred men in all.⁵⁹ The soldiers, six hundred and forty men plus their officers, were divided into eight companies. Arms were dispensed to them, and they were put through a few drills "to make them more ready and expert on all occasions".

On November 24, the fleet set forth on its great adventure. It is not necessary to bother here with the details of this campaign which threw terror into the heart of a large part of

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁹ Sloane MSS., 793 or 894, 4. The omission of several lines in Professor Harlow's copy makes it necessary to cite the original.

Hispanic America. Ships were taken at sea, islands were raided, towns, some of them the largest strongholds of Spain in America, were stormed, plundered, and then held for ransom. Jackson was not the only English pirate in the West Indies during these years, but he was largely responsible for the terror which filled Spanish hearts in that part of the world. In 1644, a Spanish official in Jamaica wrote his government of the nervous state of the people:

All the people living in the island are so nervous and terrified that if two ships are seen off port, without waiting to know where they are from, they remove the women and their effects to the mountains. The time they waste in doing this gives the enemy the opportunity to return and occupy the town without resistance. . . .⁶⁰

The most important single achievement of the campaign was the taking of Jamaica in the spring of 1643. With a small force Jackson was able to take a leading Spanish colony and hold it until he of his own will chose to depart. Jamaica was not strong at that time, but the importance of the event lay in just that fact. It made evident to the English the real weakness of Spain in the West Indies. It turned their attention in that direction, and probably played a part in bringing Cromwell's attack in the following decade.

"*Mercurius Americanus*", an account of the voyages written by an English participant, concluded by calling on Englishmen to notice that the strength of the Spaniards in this part of the world was far inferior to what their boasts had led other nations to believe. Their weakness had been detected by a handful of men, "furnished and set out upon the expense of one private man", and the writer hoped that the consideration of this success would result in

some noble design against the professed enemies of our religion, which will prove not only acceptable to God but beneficial to the Commonwealth and to every particular adventurer in the same.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Frank Cundall and J. L. Pietersz, *Jamaica under the Spaniards* (Kingston, 1919), p. 40.

⁶¹ V. T. Harlow, ed., *The Voyages of Captain William Jackson*, pp. 34-35.

As Richard Norwood, a minister in the West Indies, wrote, Jackson had shown "what might be done in the West Indies".⁶²

Needless to say Jackson's voyages brought bitter protest from the Spanish government. On April 2, 1645, just after the return of Jackson, Cárdenas presented a strong petition to parliament demanding the arrest and punishment of Jackson and the confiscation of his unlawful spoils.⁶³ It is not surprising that this effort failed. Cárdenas next turned to the high court of admiralty, and, on April 23, entered suit against Jackson for recovery.⁶⁴ A Captain Taylor was mentioned in both of these complaints, but he was on a separate expedition and in no way connected with Jackson.

The story of Jackson's exploits was painted by Cárdenas to the admiralty court in far different colors from those of the writer of "*Mercurius Americanus*". He charged that Jackson, contrary to the peace existing between the two countries,

did in a hostile and warlike manner surprize, take, burn, spoil, pillage, and carry away divers ships and vessels laden with several goods, wares and merchandises belonging to the said Catholic King and his subjects amounting in value to the sum of 20000 pounds, 15000 pounds, 10000 pounds, or at least 5000 pounds. . . .

Further, he charged that they came into several ports

under pretense of friendship and thereupon were permitted to come thither without resistance made by the subjects . . . and the said Captains after their coming into such ports and places did go on shore there and likewise land by night 300 or 400 or more of their company and in a hostile and warlike manner . . . enter divers towns and villages . . . and rob and spoil them of their goods, moneys, and merchandises and by tortures and cruelties force them to confess where their moneys, treasures, and goods of most value were, and did like-

⁶² P. R. O., C. O. 1/11, 7.

⁶³ *Journals of the House of Lords*, VII. 301.

⁶⁴ *Cárdenas con Jackson*, P. R. O., H. C. A. 3/106, 233.

wise seize upon the persons of divers of the said inhabitants and unless they would pay them some great ransom carried them away in their ships of war and landed them in places and islands remote from their then habitations and places of residences to their great prejudice and hazard of their lives. . . .

Also he complained that they did exact and receive from towns and other places

divers ransoms and sums of money to the value of 10000 pounds, 8000 pounds, 6000 pounds, or at least 2000 pounds legal and in case of refusal to pay the same have burned and ruined their houses and goods. . . .

The indictment closed with the charge that they captured and forced many of the inhabitants to serve on their ships of war.

What action Cárdenas got in this case cannot be said. It is hardly likely that it received better treatment than had his petition to parliament. Its chief value lies in the fact that it gives us an account of the expedition from the other side, and that it gives some idea of the large returns obtained from the expedition by Jackson, his men, and his backer, Warwick.

Nor was this the last of Warwick's adventures. Bradford tells of the visit to New England in 1646 of a Captain Cromwell, a privateer operating in the West Indies under papers of Warwick, and of his return later after three years of plundering.⁶⁵ In 1646, Warwick built the *Constant Warwick*, which was the first frigate built in a British yard and marked a decided advance in shipbuilding. It was used as a privateer by the earl until parliament purchased it in 1649.⁶⁶ But in the political confusion following 1646 less and less can be found regarding this side of his life, and the story of Warwick's privateering must be closed with the voyage of Jackson.

There were two groups of leaders in these adventures. One took the active command of the expeditions, the other was

⁶⁵ *Bradford's History* (Boston, 1898), pp. 526-527.

⁶⁶ W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy* (London, 1898), II. 113.

composed of those men of means who financed the projects. The latter secured the papers and the former acted in their employ and at their direction. An interesting document preserved in the Public Record Office shows us the form of agreements made between merchants who backed these enterprises and the captains who undertook the command of the expeditions.⁶⁷ This document contains the instructions of Warwick to Captain Severne, the commander of the *Elias*, a boat of four hundred tons setting out for the West Indies in June, 1643. He was not to prey upon any ship until he had arrived in the West Indian or American seas. A careful account was to be kept by Severne of all goods and prizes taken, and he was to take care to prevent any embezzlement on the part of the crew. A fifth of all that was captured was Warwick's share. Any negroes that came into his possession were to be disposed of in the plantations, and he was instructed to keep a careful account of Warwick's fifth of the proceeds from such sales. He could receive into consortship any ship or ships which might want to join him there upon the best terms he could make, requiring, however, that they should agree to turn over to him a fifth of the spoils for Warwick. He was to send word of his progress at every opportunity and upon returning to England to notify Warwick immediately on his arrival. A bond of ten thousand pounds was given by Severne for the faithful execution of these powers entrusted to him.⁶⁸

Warwick at times played both the rôle of seaman and that of speculator. He was no mean sailor, but it was as a backer and financier of these undertakings that he deserves most attention. In this he was not acting alone, but rather as the head of a group of wealthy London merchants. In the hands of these men piracy was promoted as a part of their commercial interests and became a pure business speculation. This is the most interesting fact in the history of the seventeenth century privateering. Only by the combined efforts of wealthy

⁶⁷ P. R. O., C. O. 1/10, 96.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 96 I.

and powerful men could the obstacles to large scale privateering have been overcome.

Business interests of this type were very important in other phases of seventeenth century history. The part played by London merchants in the civil struggles of the time is well known. It was not illogical that men with interests demanding hostility to Catholic Spain should be puritans and oppose a king following a policy of friendship with Spain. In that opposition they were aided in formulating their plans by association in business, and no small part of their wealth and consequent power came from such adventures as have been recounted above. Their interest in privateering also influenced the support many of them gave to American colonization. Of none of those speculating in piracy was this more true than of the earl of Warwick.

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THE PANIS MISSION TO PENSACOLA, 1778

The Panis mission to Pensacola, in 1778, was an interesting episode in Anglo-Spanish rivalry on the Gulf Coast and lower Mississippi. In outward appearance it was an attempt to secure guaranties of Spanish Louisiana's rights as a neutral in the war between England and its revolting colonies. Governor Gálvez explained to Spain's minister of the Indies:

The repeated insults committed on the Mississippi River by the English, and on the lakes situated back of this city by a king's corsair, have obliged me to send Captain Jacinto Panis, adjutant-major of this plaza, to Pensacola with a letter to the governor complaining of these things, and asking a prompt remedy.¹

But the mission had an ulterior design perhaps more important than its ostensible one. Gálvez's letter continued:

This expedition had not only the motive of the above requests, but also that of finding out if it is true that a reënforcement of troops and two frigates has arrived at that city (as I have been informed), their intentions, their actual force, and the news of what has occurred relative to the war between Great Britain and North America. I am persuaded that the commission is sufficient to prevent any suspicion of this motive.²

Panis, in effect, went to Mobile and Pensacola as a spy; and about a year later, when Spain entered the war against England, his plan for an attack on Pensacola became the basis for Gálvez's campaign.

Quite apart from its function in espionage, the expedition would seem to have been justified by the extraordinary activities of the British and the resultant inconvenience to Spanish

¹ Bernardo de Gálvez to José de Gálvez. March 11, 1778. No. 129, *Reservada. Archivo General de Indias* at Seville, *Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Legajo*, 2596. (Henceforth cited as A. G. I., *Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, 2596.)

² *Ibid.*

Louisiana. Gálvez's letter to Governor Chester of British West Florida stresses the chief complaint.

Not a boat has come down from Illinois, and not a trapper's boat, without being fired upon at the Bluffs of Margot and Prudhomme [Chickasaw Bluffs], which have been garrisoned by a detachment of troops of your nation and of Chickesay Indians. Such offenses, which I cannot believe are approved or suggested by your prudent orders, are too irregular from any subordinate, nor can they be justified by whatever excuses you may give to color them. If the idea in stationing a detachment in this region is to extend the limits of your jurisdiction, and to acquire necessary information, it would seem to me that it would be more reasonable to send to the post someone who would indicate this with politeness and soldierly urbanity, without disturbing the prevailing peace before at least offering every assistance and hospitality, which should be necessary in imitation of that which I have always accorded British subjects in this province.³

Panis was instructed to transmit this letter to Chester and to press the demand for greater politeness at Chickasaw Bluffs, taking care "neither to be so acrid as to exasperate, nor so lukewarm as to imply timidity". He was instructed to bolster the complaint by suggesting that it might become necessary to deny entrance into Louisiana to every foreigner without distinction of nation. On three other issues negotiations were to be conducted: protesting against the presence of English traders among the Indians west of the Mississippi; protesting the activities of an English corsair on Lake Pontchartrain and Lake Borgne; and proposing an agreement for the extradition of runaway slaves.⁴

Armed with a "box of white sugar and a cask of wine", as a present for Governor Chester, Panis left New Orleans, on February 22, 1778, and reached Mobile on March 2, proceeding a few days later to Pensacola. Apparently the English

³ Bernardo de Gálvez to Chester. February 20, 1778. A. G. I., *Papeles Procedentes de Cuba*, Legajo 2351. (Henceforth cited as A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351.) Draft and copy.

⁴ Bernardo de Gálvez to Panis. February 20, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351.

had no inkling of Panis's secret instructions; but he did encounter some difficulty on another score.

In a letter to Gálvez, he said:

On the night of March 2nd I reached Mobile, where the following morning there arrived a messenger from Natchez with tidings of Willing's depredations. This news and the dread that he would ascend with his followers to surprise this settlement and its inhabitants frightened everybody. I was able to console them by saying that doubtless terror had exaggerated the story, and that I was persuaded you would not permit Willing or anyone to commit acts of authority or hostility in the domain of his Majesty.⁵

The effects of Willing's raid upon the Panis mission are indicated even more clearly by a letter from a Pensacola merchant to another English merchant at New Orleans:

The Major has staid (I believe) a little longer among us than he expected, occasioned from the Confusion which the late rascally transaction of Mr. Willing has made in this province. . . . When the news of Mr. Willing's plundering Expedition arrived here, it was supposed, from various circumstances, that his Scout boat had arrived at New Orleans before Major Panis's departure from thence, this was, as imprudently as impolitely, told to the Major which made him very uneasy, however he soon perceived that the Civility and attention of his Friends here was not lessened on that account and of course removed his anxiety. Tho', by the by, he certainly must have known the matter before he left.⁶

But despite this lack of perfect confidence in him, the ambassador from New Orleans found it impossible to make any headway with his negotiations. In a series of letters to Chester he took up *seriatim* the Spanish grievances.⁷ In one letter, dated April 7th, Chester replied to all four:

⁵ Fragment of a letter, without signature, date, or address, but evidently from Panis at Pensacola to Gálvez. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351.

⁶ Stephenson to Patrick Morgan. April 7, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 112.

⁷ Panis to Chester. March 13, 16, 22, and 24, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351. Drafts.

The first representation You make in Your letter of the 13th of last Month, is, that the English Commissaries with Indians posted near the Clifts of Prud'homme & Margot, have with violence obliged the Batteaus which come down from the Illinois, or any other part of Your Colony; either to cross the River Mississippi, or fire at them, if they refuse to stop. To this Complaint, I answer that the Clifts of Prudhomme & Margot, altho' under the Sovereignty of the King my Master, are notwithstanding far beyond the jurisdiction of this Province, the limits whereof do not extend farther up the River Mississippi than the mouth of the River Yassous.⁸

Having sidestepped responsibility for the violence at Chickasaw Bluffs, Governor Chester was zealous in trying to alleviate the unpleasantness. He suggested to Colonel Stuart, British Indian Commissioner for the Southern District, that no offense be given the Spaniards. Stuart had stationed some men at the mouth of Wolf River to learn about the designs of the rebels; from them he had had no report, but he now sent warning to them not to molest the Spaniards. After reporting this, Chester went on to mention the rebellion which made necessary such actions, and to hope

that His Excellency [Gálvez] will not too Scrupulously Scrutinize Actions, which proceed from prudence and necessity at this juncture, but on the contrary, direct his Subjects in coming down the Mississippi, to communicate any useful information they may receive of the Rebels' proceedings to those parties whom Colonel Stuart has stationed on that River.⁹

Concerning the English traders west of the Mississippi, Chester's reply was equally specious or in equally good faith, as one chooses to interpret his letter. These traders, he said, are

most of them a Sett of Banditti, & Outlaws, who have fled from Justice, out of some of the Northern Colonies, and live in a Savage Manner.

⁸ Chester to Panis. April 7, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Consequently restraining them was a difficult task. As a token of his sincerity he enclosed a copy of the proclamation he had issued a couple of years earlier, prohibiting unlicensed trading, and promised anew to make every effort to enforce this regulation. On the other hand, he complained that during the preceding summer, Choctaws got presents at New Orleans and Tonicas at Pointe Coupée.¹⁰

Chester claimed that the corsair on the lakes was likewise beyond his authority. Formal complaint should be lodged with the naval chief at Jamaica. He had conferred, however, with Lieutenant Burdon, the commander of the vessel in question, and had received his promise not to interfere with Spanish fishermen and others on the lakes.

To the fourth proposition Chester answered:

I consent, that it Shall be Established and agreed between the Governments of Louisiana & West Florida, That all such Negroes, as belong to the Subjects of each Province, & Such as have been or may be Stolen & carried to, or take refuge in the Colony of Louisiana or West Florida shall be restored upon requisition to their respective owners.

The expenses of apprehension, he agreed, were to be charged the owners. Gálvez had proposed a further condition, "that Corporal Punishment shall not be inflicted upon Such Slaves, as are Capital Offenders", having in mind the protection of property rights in such slaves. But Chester objected, saying:

It may operate as an inducement on those, who are determined to abscond, previously to commit Murder, or Some other Capital offence, which from instances, they may observe, will not only prevent their being delivered up to their Masters, as other less offending runaways are, but also Screen them from all kinds of Corporal Punishment.¹¹

The negotiations ended thus, with very little actually gained for Spanish Louisiana except the agreement about the return of runaway slaves. This agreement, though, was more

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

than a temporary achievement. More than a year after Spain's entrance into the war against England, a West Florida citizen wrote to Gálvez:

Governor Chester . . . assures your Excellency he will inviolably adhere to the agreement relative to Runaway Negroes entered into between you reciprocally, when Major Panis was at Pensacola, and doubts not of your doing the same, as if Harmony & peace subsisted between our respective Nations, instead of Hostilities.¹²

Governor Chester seems not to have suspected that Panis's visit had any other purpose. After acknowledging

the box of White Sugar, and the Cask of Wine, that Your Excellency was pleased to send me, both of which have been accepted with a thousand thanks,

he continued his letter to Gálvez with a compliment for Panis. "I have had the honor", he wrote,

of receiving Your Excellency's Letter dated the 20th of February last, commissioning Major Panis to treat personally with me upon different points which you say concern the Interests of Our two Colonies, and I am to return you many thanks for having sent an officer to me upon this Occasion of Major Panis' Rank & Credit, who I have Endeavored to receive with the distinction he is entitled to, not only from respect to your Excellency's introduction, but also from his own personal merit—and I wish he had given me an opportunity of rendering him any services.¹³

Nor was Chester aware of Gálvez's duplicity. He wrote to Panis:

I cannot entertain the least doubt of the Sincerity of the late assurances which I have received from him, but I flatter myself, that His Excellency will continue the Same friendly disposition whenever occasions offer.¹⁴

¹² E. R. Wegg to Bernardo de Gálvez. June 14, 1780. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 193.

¹³ Chester to Bernard de Gálvez. April 7, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 191.

¹⁴ Chester to Panis. April 7, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351.

In New Orleans, meanwhile, Panis's absence was being felt. Gálvez wrote to him, on April 18th, that since the second adjutant was also absent, his speedy return would be appreciated. A postscript implied that his wife would also appreciate it.¹⁵ But by this time Panis was almost home. A day earlier he had written a letter from Balize telling of his departure from Pensacola on the 9th in a boat which Chester had permitted to sail on condition that Panis would secure for it a guarantee against insult by the Americans on the Mississippi.¹⁶ On the 22nd, Gálvez sent a safe conduct for the boat to proceed "as though Spanish".¹⁷

On July 5th, Panis presented the report of his mission. Quite significantly there is in it no mention of the negotiations with Chester, but merely on account of his journey to Pensacola, the flurry caused by Willing's raid, and a description of the fortifications of the two towns. In this report he wrote:

I arrived at Mobile the night of March 2nd. At about the same time came the news that the Americans were descending the Mississippi, taking possession of all the lands and plantations belonging to English royalists. Imagining that the hostilities of the Americans would extend to this region, the commandant and principal citizens were filled with consternation, and sent an express to Pensacola, carrying the news and asking support for their defense in case of attack. It is evident, if the governor of Pensacola does not send assistance, that these people are exposed to great danger. The fortifications, as you know, are in very bad condition; they consist of a regular square, built of brick, and flanked with breastworks, trench, and glacis, as before, situated very near the barracks and at the shore of the bay for defense by sea, as on land by Indians. Its walls are going to ruin. Almost all the artillery is dismounted, and the trenches in some places are choked up. The barracks are in equally bad repair; in the front and side sections are housed the small garrison of forty-five soldiers, commanded by a captain, lieutenant, and sergeant; the other side, the

¹⁵ Bernardo de Gálvez to Panis. April 18, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351.

¹⁶ Panis to Gálvez. April 17, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351.

¹⁷ Bernardo de Gálvez to Panis. April 22, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351.

northeast, is uninhabitable, for nothing but its walls remain, the rest having been consumed by a fire.¹⁸

Nor were the authorities at Mobile completely at ease about the loyalty of the inhabitants of the district. "On the 6th, when I left for Pensacola", Panis continued,

the authorities called together all the people with their arms in order to enumerate them, and to renew their oath of fidelity, because of lack of confidence in some, the majority being French Creoles.¹⁹

The description of Pensacola is longer and more replete with technical details. Although the fortifications were more pretentious than those at Mobile, a similar state of decay and ill-repair prevailed. The American Revolution and particularly the recent raid of Willing, however, were spurring the English to strengthen Pensacola. Panis continued:

With the repeated bulletins which they received daily concerning the progress of the Americans, and the captures being made at Manchac, they began energetically to restore the trenches and breastworks, making gun-carriages and fittings to mount the extra mortars and cannon, and putting everything in good condition for defense. They have added an outer breastwork eight toises from the fort toward the northwest, running in the streets from this point toward the southwest, and have erected another battery near the seashore.

At the foot of the fortification and at intervals of a foot and a half they have opened three rows of funnel-shaped pits, such as are called wolf traps, with sharpened stakes in the bottom; and they are continuing to fortify the place as their skill and the sandy soil permit.²⁰

Spain entered the war the next year. Along with the notice of the declaration of hostilities, Gálvez received a royal order to the effect that the major objective of Spain, so far as America was concerned, was to be the conquest of Pensa-

¹⁸ Panis to Gálvez: July 5, 1778. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 112.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

cola, Mobile, and the British posts along the Mississippi.²¹ "In compliance with the king's royal wishes", Gálvez replied to this communication,

I send you the attached plan formed at my order by the adjutant major of this plaza, Don Jacinto Panis, a reliable man and an officer of long service, to whom I turned because he was at Pensacola last year with the object of appraising me of the state of its defense.²²

Panis's plan, dated August 16, 1779, was in part a repetition of the description of Pensacola that he had submitted to Gálvez on July 5th of the preceding year. On the basis of this information, however, he had outlined a plan of attack. He recommended a pretentious expedition to include six ships of the line, and as many frigates, such *balandras* and other armed boats as could be spared, and a landing force of seven thousand men.²³ "Without disapproving the project of Panis, who as an eye-witness ought to know whereof he speaks", Gálvez wrote in submitting the plan,

it seems to me that a pair of ships of the line to escort and to remain cruising during the attack, six frigates, a bomb-ketch if there is one, and other small armed boats, in addition to those necessary for transports, will suffice for the naval forces. . . . As to land forces, four thousand men whom you shall send . . . and a thousand men, and no more, whom I can take from here . . . will be enough to effect the capture with ease.²⁴

And not only did Gálvez endorse the Panis plan in principle, but later when he was directing the actual operations against Pensacola he followed it in such details as the sending of one division of his army by way of the Perdido River,

²¹ Diego Joseph Navarro to Gálvez. July 18, 1779. A. G. I., *Audiencia de Santo Domingo*, 2543.

²² Bernardo de Gálvez to Navarro. August 17, 1779. No. 201, *Reservada*. A. G. I., Cuba, 2351.

²³ Panis to Gálvez. August 16, 1779. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 112.

²⁴ Bernardo de Gálvez to Navarro. August 17, 1779. No. 201, *Reservada*. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 2351.

and by landing a detachment on Santa Rose Island as a preliminary to the investment of Pensacola itself.²⁵ The importance attached to the secret aspect of the Panis mission to Pensacola in 1778 is sufficiently attested by these utilizations of the information thus acquired.

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²⁵ Panis to Gálvez. August 16, 1779. A. G. I., *Cuba*, 112. "Diary of the Operations of the Expedition against the Place of Pensacola", in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I., No. 1, pp. 44-84.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Life of Lord Pauncefote. By R. B. MOWAT. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929.)

In this biography of the first British envoy of ambassadorial rank to the United States, Professor Mowat has presented us with a rapid survey of the principal events with which Lord Pauncefote was associated during his long diplomatic career. Since the most fruitful years of Pauncefote's life were those spent in Washington most of the book is logically given over to a study of problems that he was called upon to solve while there. As such the book becomes more a study in Anglo-American relations than the account of a man's life. These relations often involved Hispanic America and are therefore of interest to all students in that field. Probably the most important was the Venezuela Affair which suddenly brought England and the United States to the brink of war in 1895. In this episode, Mowat has given us the British point of view, and one is left with the impression that, even in this country, President Cleveland's warlike message to congress was generally disapproved. While it is probably true that many leaders in American public life objected to the belligerent tone of the message one can hardly agree that the reaction of the rank and file of the American people was hostile to their president's display of energy. The willingness of the Salisbury government to submit the question to arbitration the author attributes primarily to the restraint and good sense of the British people and their government during the crisis. While this conventional explanation is true so far as it goes, the inquiring individual well might ask why restraint and good sense were shown under circumstances which might easily have provoked war. To the reviewer it seems that Great Britain's international position, tremendously complicated as it was at the time by the Jameson raid, the Kruger telegram, and the generally unfriendly attitude of the continental public to England, should be given consideration in any adequate explanation of the action adopted by the British government. Great Britain's continental relations also furnish part of the background for its subsequent dealings with the United States. All these factors seem to have escaped the author as they have all the

conventional historians who have written on the extremely complex period that marked the turn of the century. No longer is it permissible to view major diplomatic problems of the period wholly in the light of the interests of any two nations involved. The material that has come to light since the war shows clearly that the international relations of the period were delicately interrelated. With old ties breaking up and new ones in process of formation no decade in modern history seems to offer a more fascinating opportunity for research than that from 1895 to 1905.

Only in the period of the Spanish-American crisis has the author attempted to broaden the scope of Anglo-American relations. In his treatment, however, the possibilities of the subject are by no means exhausted. Germany is pictured as taking the lead in September, 1897, in an effort to check the United States. What the reaction of the other powers was we do not learn. Curiously enough, opposition to the United States acquiring the Philippines is given as an explanation for Germany's action. That Germany, like all continental powers, was sympathetic to Spain in the Spanish-American crisis cannot be doubted but to attribute any opposition as early as September, 1897, to United States' designs on the Philippines is far fetched. The author doubtless has confused the prewar period with the war period itself, when Germany, probably encouraged to some extent by American officials, did hope, perhaps, to acquire the islands. The author also states (page 213) that "the grand collection of German diplomatic documents" made public since the war disproves Andrew D. White's statement that "the course of the Imperial government especially of the Foreign Office under Count von Bülow and Baron von Richthofen was all that could be desired". Yet, on page 221, he writes "The official documents of the year 1898 issued by the German Government since the Great War prove that the policy of the German Government in 1898 was strictly correct although not friendly to the United States". Such contradictory statements, both based on the *Grosse Politik*, while probably due to haste in writing, are sufficient to cause the careful reader to take the author's general conclusions in other matters with considerable reserve. A mere perusal of the above documents indicates that Germany's sympathy for Spain was largely due to concern for the maintenance of the monarchical principle. For such and various other reasons the rest of Europe was also drawn to Spain. A continental bloc might have been organized had

the powers been less suspicious of each other and less fearful of antagonizing the United States. Germany, willing to place itself in, but never at the head of a continental bloc in the fall of 1897, became exceedingly cool shortly afterward toward any movement which aimed to involve Europe in the Spanish-American crisis. Suspicions of England's attitude and fear that Germany might be left holding the bag made that country wary, and explain in part the change of attitude.

On the important controversy that later developed over the question of responsibility for the meeting of April 14th and the proposal for a new collective step in the crisis that the Washington representatives sent their governments, Mowat has given us nothing new. He completely exonerates Lord Pauncefote from all responsibility for convening the diplomatic corps and calls the German ambassador's statement attributing the whole thing to Pauncefote unreliable.

To justify the clean bill of health he states that "everything in Pauncefote's career—his character, caution, reserve, and friendliness to the United States—points to the conclusion that he was not responsible for the note drafted by the diplomats in Washington". The story of Holleben, the German ambassador, he asserts is discredited by the fact that the latter stated that Pauncefote had referred to the Americans as "brigands" in taking leave of the French ambassador, Jules Cambon. In refuting this charge he points out that such language never was known to pass Pauncefote's lips. While one would like to accept the author's word in the matter, such an argument is hardly sufficient to dispose of Holleben's remarks in his dispatch to his government. The refutation would carry more weight with the reader had the author, in his biography, given us an intimate picture of the man whom he would have us believe could not desecrate his lips by using the term "brigand". This picture he has completely failed to portray and one must conclude that a biography of Lord Pauncefote based more upon his intimate papers and letters still remains to be written. It is to be hoped that this will be done some day in spite of Pauncefote's prediction that his biography would never appear.

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La Independencia y otros Episodios. By RICARDO FERNÁNDEZ GUARDIA. (San José de Costa Rica: Trejos Hnos., 1928. Pp. 424. Apendice; nómina de personas citadas; índice.)

Fernández Guardia's latest book gives the interesting account of how the untutored Costa Ricans reacted to independence from Spain and the problems of self government, which were thrust upon them unsought and almost without warning. The people were of nearly pure Spanish blood, but had lived an isolated life in their mountain arcadia since the founding of the colony, and were almost entirely illiterate. Their case is one of the many examples of social phenomena to be found in Central America which, in turn, serve as types of conditions on a larger scale in Hispanic America as a whole.

This account centers in local affairs and is based, for the most part, on a careful study of documentary sources to be found in Costa Rica. But in those times, along with the problems of community organization and the maintenance of order went the question of annexation to Mexico, or possibly to Colombia, and out of this came the division of the community into two hostile camps of monarchists and republicans. The triumph of the latter was achieved by ballots and secured as a result of an appeal to arms on the part of their adversaries. But most impressive is the degree of success in self government achieved by a people wholly unschooled in the ways of democracy. In this book we are permitted to follow their various successes and failures, and at the same time to study the text of the first instruments of government drawn up by them.

The book is written in simple, narrative style. The leading personalities are very real, and the intrigues of rival politicians among unsophisticated voters are told with all the naïveté of the people themselves. The author's point of view is frankly that of the liberals or republicans, but he is impartial and even generous in dealing with personalities. He does not stop to argue, however, except in rare instances where he considers it necessary to correct popular impressions which his research has proven to be erroneous. The period covered by the account extends approximately from 1821 to 1835. However, complete political history is not attempted for more than the first four years of that period, and this occupies the major portion of the book. The latter part is limited to illustrative episodes scattered over a longer period of time.

There are, of course, to the foreign reader some things that seem lacking. One wonders, for example, whether there is not some social or economic explanation of the strong monarchistic sentiment in Cartago as opposed to the republicanism of San José. But the book was written for Costa Ricans, and to them such explanations are probably not necessary.

There are not many finished historians in Central America, but Fernández Guardia is one of them. Some of his work has already been translated into English. He is now in Spain as consul general for Costa Rica and it is to be hoped that his consular duties will not prevent his bringing forth from the Spanish archives some new contribution.

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List of Books printed before 1601 in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America. By CLARA LOUISA PENNY. (New York: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1929. Pp. xiv, 274. Front.)

This checklist, prepared for the staff of the Library,

follows in general the plan adopted for the various short-title catalogues issued within recent years. . . . The forms of entry follow, in general, those of the British Museum and of the Library of Congress at Washington. At points of divergence, the British Museum has been considered authority as, in all probability it is in conjunction with Dr. Thomas's catalogues that this list will be chiefly used.

In the *List*, titles have been shortened, the part essential for recognition only being given. Bibliographical details have been, of course, omitted, but a list of references is prefixed where such information may be found.

The colophon has been strictly followed as to spelling and information, but the arrangement has been arbitrarily changed to the form: Place, Publisher, Date.

Imperfect copies and duplicates have been noted. "*A costa de*", "*véndese en casa de*", and "*typis*", have been translated into English. There is no information as to the kind of type or size of the books listed. A list of old forms of place names with modern equivalents is given. An interesting feature is the indication by the use of an asterisk of books in the British Museum.

A superficial examination of this valuable list suffices to indicate the astonishing richness of this noble library, and the surprising number of titles not found in the British Museum. It contains over two hundred or more incunabula and, in addition, many first editions of sixteenth century works. It is not possible here to comment extensively on these valuable and rare items, but the present reviewer can not forbear mentioning some few of special interest. Of *La Celestina*—which the Library prefers to enter under the title “*La Celestina by unknown, possibly Fernando de Rojas or Rodrigo de Cota*”—there are listed the following editions: [Burgos?], Fadrique de Basilea, [1499]; Sevilla, 1523; Venecia, 1534; Toledo, 1538; Embeses, 1539; Salamanca, 1540; Enueres, 1545; Caragoça, 1545; Venecia, 1553; Caragoça, 1555; Venecia, 1556; Barcelona, 1561; Sevilla, 1562; Salamanca, 1569, 1570, 1575; Sevilla, 1575; Salamanca, 1590; [Antwerp], En la oficina Plantiniana, 1595, 1599; Tarragona, 1595; Sevilla, 1596; Enueres, [ca. 1545?]; Rouen, 1599 (a French translation); Rouen, 1599; [Venice?], 1535 (the Italian translation); [Venice?] 1541. This is a convincing proof of the great popularity of this famous book during the sixteenth century, as well as of the extent of the library. Of similar richness are the collections of Chronicles, the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of Ercilla y Zuñiga, Juan de Mena, and others. In fact, the library possesses a magnificent collection of source material for the political, social, and cultural history of sixteenth-century Spain and of the Spanish literature of the renaissance.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

The Conquest of Peru as recorded by a Member of the Pizarro Expedition. Reproduced from the Copy of the Seville Edition of 1534 in the New York Library with a Translation and Annotations by JOSEPH H. SINCLAIR. (New York: The New York Public Library, 1929. Pp. 47. Facsimiles. Maps.)

During recent years many rare and valuable pieces of early Americana have been made available to students by reproduction in facsimile or by reprinting, and by translation when in another tongue. One of the latest is this account of Pizarro's expedition into, and conquest of, Peru, which was first printed in Seville, in April, 1534. It was, as the translator and editor tells us in his preface, the second

printed account, so far as known, of the conquest by Pizarro. The original, from which this present facsimile was made, is one of the two copies of the book known. It forms part of the famous collection of early Americana owned by the New York Public Library.

The author of the relation, who is anonymous (thus reminding us of the later anonymous "Gentleman of Elvas" who wrote the account of the Soto expedition to Florida), was one of Pizarro's band, and was with that commander from the time he left Panama in 1531 until after the execution of the Inca Atahualpa. He "was one of twenty-five [who was] permitted to return to Spain shortly after that event". The account as printed formed a sort of news letter (which was a frequent means in the sixteenth century of giving out information regarding the overseas colonies). The author or first editor, with as fine a regard for what constitutes news as any modern journalist, prefixed the following caption to the account (English translation): "The Conquest of Peru called New Castile. Which country by the will of God was marvellously conquered to the happy good fortune of the Emperor and King our master; and by the prudence and energy of the very magnificent and brave gentleman Captain Francisco Pizarro Governor and Adelantado of New Castile and of his brother Hernando Pizarro and of his courageous captains and the faithful and energetic companions who accompanied him".

The translation is excellent, and the annotations brief and to the point. Two maps accompany the volume: one a map of the overland route followed in the conquest, which was compiled by the editor; and the other a reproduction of the map accompanying the French translation of the account which was published in 1545. The volume is concluded by a bibliography of the several editions of the relation. Italian editions of the letter appeared in 1534, 1535, and in 1556 and 1563 (Ramusio, Vol. III.). An abstract in English appeared in Purchas, His Pilgrimes (Vol. IV.), so that this is the first complete English translation of the account.

The facsimile, itself, with its interesting woodcuts, fills eight unnumbered leaves of quarto or small folio size. The English translation follows the facsimiles. The book was printed in the New York Library and in its mechanical appearance is excellent. The New York Public Library is to be commended for its generosity in allowing this book to be published. It is hoped that this policy will be followed with many others of the rarities of the Library (it will be

remembered that the New York Public Library is the home of the incomparable Lenox Collection). In this connection it may not be out of place to mention that the book by the "Gentleman of Elvas" of which mention was made above, will soon be published in facsimile form, with English translation, by The Florida State Historical Society, the copy utilized being that of the Lenox Collection which is either unique or one of two copies known to be in existence.

Mr. Sinclair, the translator and editor of *The Conquest of Peru*, has long been interested in Hispanic America. Among other things he has compiled a bibliography of one of the countries of South America which we hope will soon be published. There are also many other short pieces similar to *The Conquest*, and relating to the early period of the Spanish conquest in the Indies which should be published in facsimile and translation. With regard to the latter-day mania for manuscript material which has taken possession of historical students, and without decrying the value of such material, it might not be amiss to focus attention a trifle more on the early printed accounts which have all the value of primary sources.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Anuario Bibliográfico: Letras, Historia, Educacion y Filosofía. Compiled by the INSTITUTO BIBLIOGRÁFICO of the Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de la Plata. (La Plata: República Argentina, 1929. 2 vols. Pp. xv, 431; xv, 630.)

This admirable work is the Argentine equivalent of the annual work by Miss Griffin, *Writings in American History*; but it has a wider scope than the latter publication, for it lists titles in belles lettres, education, and philosophy, as well as in history. Part First of the present annual report lists titles in belles lettres and history corresponding to the year 1928 and Part Second, those on education and philosophy for the same year. The section listing historical titles is subdivided as follows: Prehistoria Argentina y Americana; Historia Argentina y Americana; Historia General; Crítica y Metodología; Relaciones Documentales; Guías e Índices; Registros; Colecciones de Documentos; Epistolarios; Documentos; Bibliografía. These titles fill pages 239-394 of Vol. I., and each title is analysed at greater or less length. It would increase the usefulness of the work if published

reviews of the works listed were cited, when such are known. The list shows that twenty-nine works on bibliography were published in 1929, which appears to be a good record.

Books of this nature will render much easier the work being envisaged by the Bibliographical Society of the Americas which is now in process of formation. They reveal also the activity along historical and other lines that exists in Hispanic America. The *Anuario* is an extremely useful work for students of Hispanic American history.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Lista de algunos Periódicos que vieron la Luz en Caracas de 1808 a 1900. By JOSÉ E. MACHADO. (Caracas: Lit. y Tip. Vargas, 1929. Pp. 74.)

This list first appeared in the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional*, January to October, 1927. It is part of a more comprehensive study which will include the periodicals of Venezuela as a whole. Dr. Machado, who is the director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Venezuela, has long been interested in bibliographical investigations. He has produced in this work a contribution to periodical bibliography. In all, one hundred and twenty-eight periodicals are listed. Of many of them, the names of some or all of the editors are given besides other important data. The first periodical mentioned is the *Gazeta de Caracas*, which first appeared on October 24, 1808 and lasted until after the battle of Carabobo in 1821. It followed the changing tides of government, being successively, royalist and republican. The various titles show that some of the most eminent men of the republic of Venezuela have been newspaper or other periodical editors.

The servibility of the pamphlet would have been increased if the different titles had been numbered, and if a list or index had been added. The arrangement is chronological.

Report of Dominican Economic Commission. (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1929. Pp. xii, 156.)

The subtitle of this volume is "Report of His Excellency, Don Horacio Vásquez, President of the Dominican Republic, of the Economic Commission selected by and under the Chairmanship of Charles G. Dawes, and consisting of Charles G. Dawes, Sumner Welles, John Steven Sewell, James G. Harbord, Henry P. Seidemann, H. C.

Smither, J. Clawson Roop, Theodore W. Robinson, John F. Harris, Harry B. Hurd, Francis J. Kilkenny, Rufus D. Beach, E. Ross Bartley". President Vásquez asked the committee

to recommend methods of improvement in the system of economic and financial administrative organization, both national and municipal, for the installation of a scientific budget and for an efficient method whereby the Government may control all its expenditures (Introduction, p. 1).

The report is divided into six sections, namely: the recommendations of the committee; consideration of the budget; estimate of possible economies in the budget of 1929; memoranda on public works, municipalities, motor transport, statement of imports and exports and trade balances from 1905-1928; general financial statement of the republic; discussion of present accounting methods and suggestions for their modification. The committee recommended a reorganization of the executive departments of the government; the enactment of a budget law, an accounting law, a law of finances, and a law of projected public improvements. The report was presented to the president on April 23, 1929, and by May 21, the budget and accounting laws, the laws of finances and projected public improvements, and the law reorganizing the executive departments had been enacted by congress, and the senate had passed a civil service law.

The volume is one of important and informing data of an economic and administrative character which will undoubtedly cause it to be consulted frequently by those interested in the Dominican Republic. As a whole the report is distinguished by its clarity. Throughout, facts are stated in a concise, orderly manner which make the report a model of its kind.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE QUESTION OF THE LITERACY OF COLUMBUS IN 1492

The question whether, at the time of his discovery of America, Columbus was able to read and write is one which has not so far been critically examined, since it has been supposed that no such examination was necessary. It has always been assumed that he was able to do both and that there was no room for doubt on the matter. He himself claimed to have acquired such scientific knowledge as was necessary for the execution of the project which he had formed.¹ Ferdinand Columbus and Las Casas both assert that he had received an almost elaborate education;² João de Barros bears witness to the excellence of his Latinity.³ Such evidence might seem to be conclusive, and it has been generally so regarded. Discussion has been confined to attempts to discover how and where he gained his knowledge; no effort has been made to consider whether he actually possessed that knowledge when he set out on his first voyage. His literacy has been in fact taken for granted, although even the ingenuous Bernáldez, whose critical faculty was less highly developed than his credulity, remarks that Columbus was "a man of little book learning, although of great natural intelligence."⁴

Nevertheless, the assumption is little, if it be anything more than an assumption. With the dubious exception of the notes⁵ which he wrote on the margins of books, it has never been suggested that any extant autographs of Columbus antedate the discovery. With the equally dubious exceptions of the map of Española⁶ and the memorial

¹ "Carta del almyrante al rey y á la reyna" . . . in the *Libro de las Profecías*, printed by De Lollis, *Scritti di Colombo* (*Raccolta Colombiana*, I., part ii, p. 79).

² Ferdinand Columbus, *Historie*, c. 4 (ed. 1867); Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I. 3.

³ João de Barros, *Asia*, Dec. I. ii, 2.

⁴ Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, c. 118.

⁵ The notes are printed, with the relevant extracts from the books annotated, by De Lollis (*Scritti*, in *Eac. Col.* I., part ii, pp. 291-523).

⁶ Reproduced in the Duchess of Berwick and Alba, *Nuevos Autógrafos de Colón*.

concerning the needs of that island,⁷ no such autographs have been assigned to a period earlier than one which postdates the discovery by five years. There is thus no really conclusive evidence of his literacy when he first conceived of his project, when he was resident at Lisbon, or when he was negotiating with Ferdinand and Isabella, or even when he at last put that project into execution. The grounds upon which the assumption is based are at best slender; they are perhaps even more slender than has been commonly supposed or than they appear at first sight to be.

It may be noted that the statements which Ferdinand Columbus and Las Casas make concerning his education occur in a somewhat suspicious context, since they are contained in the account which these writers give of the early life of Columbus and the errors in that account are so notorious as to require no demonstration. It is also admitted that in some respects the statements themselves cannot be regarded as accurate. No one now supposes that Columbus "acquired the rudiments of letters" at the University of Pavia.⁸ If he became "very proficient in Latin", his proficiency was not such as would satisfy the master of a lower form at a modern school.⁹ Any estimate of the excellence of handwriting must always be largely a matter of opinion, but when Las Casas asserts that Columbus wrote sufficiently well and legibly as to be able to earn his living by writing, he contradicts his own later complaint that he found it hard to read what the admiral had written¹⁰ and makes a statement which is perhaps hardly borne out by the extant autographs of the discoverer.

The claim which Columbus himself makes that he was well acquainted with various branches of learning is one certainly open to criticism. Among those branches, he includes navigation and no less an authority than Humboldt¹¹ has remarked upon his skill as a navigator, of which he finds proof in the *Journal*¹² of the first voyage, while Ferdinand Columbus and Las Casas¹³ adduce illustrations of

⁷ Printed by De Lollis (*Scritti*, in *Rac. Col.* I, part i, pp. 136-138).

⁸ Las Casas, *loc. cit.* (Cp. Harris, *Christophe Colomb*, I. 241-246; De Lollis, *Cristoforo Colombo*, pp. 31-32—ed. 1923).

⁹ Barros, *loc. cit.* The Latinity of the notes is certainly defective and Columbus would appear never to have attempted to write a letter in Latin.

¹⁰ Las Casas, *loc. cit.* and I. 99.

¹¹ Humboldt, *Examen critique*.

¹² The *Journal* is printed by De Lollis (*Scritti*, in *Rac. Col.* I, i, pp. 1-119).

¹³ Ferdinand Columbus, c. 4; Las Casas, I. 3.

his proficiency in this respect, drawn from his own accounts of his past experiences. Among these illustrations is the story of his expedition to Tunis. Quite apart from the possibility, and even probability, that no such expedition ever occurred,¹⁴ it has been found to be no easy matter to produce a plausible explanation of his alleged deception of his crew. An analagous suspicion attaches to all the accounts of his early adventures. It has further been suggested that, for the conduct of his first voyage, Martín Alonso Pinzón was as responsible or more responsible than was Columbus himself.¹⁵ It is at least curious that if Columbus were actually a skilled navigator, he should regard the determination of a ship's position as being "in the nature of a prophetic vision",¹⁶ when even a man no better acquainted with the sea than was Bernáldez could remark that if a pilot made an error of ten leagues in a voyage of a thousand miles, during which land was not sighted, he must be regarded as incompetent.¹⁷ It is, perhaps, still more curious that a man, having an adequate knowledge of navigation, should believe that the speed with which his ship traveled northward was due to the fact that it was going downhill.¹⁸

Nor is there any very satisfactory evidence that his claim to other knowledge can really be sustained. Considerable credit has been accorded to him on the ground that he was the first to observe the variation of the compass. It has, however, been pointed out that this variation had been earlier noted by Portuguese navigators on the African coast,¹⁹ and it is thus at least possible that Columbus was no more than availing himself of the results of their observations. It has sometimes been supposed that he formed an estimate of the degree by personal experiment, but here again it has been suggested that he cannot have made the determination himself.²⁰ A somewhat unfavorable impression of the extent of his actual knowledge is also produced by the fact that, at least upon two occasions, when called upon to decide between two opinions, his decision was in favor of the more erroneous.

¹⁴ The truth of the story is accepted with some hesitation by De Lollis (*Cristoforo Colombo*, pp. 33-35); questioned by Harisse (*op. cit.*, I. 254-258) and denied by Vignaud (*Le vrai Christophe Colomb*, p. 42).

¹⁵ *Cp.* Fernandez Duro, *Colón y Pinzón*.

¹⁶ Letter on the fourth voyage (*Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, p. 198).

¹⁷ Bernáldez, *op. cit.*, c. 131.

¹⁸ Letter on the third voyage (*Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, p. 38).

¹⁹ *Cp.* Eugenio de Castro, *Diário de Navegação de Pero Lopes de Sousa*, p. 50.

²⁰ *Cp.* Nunn, *Geographical Conceptions of Columbus*.

He preferred the estimate of the size of the globe reached by Marinus of Tyre to that put forward by Ptolemy.²¹ He rejected the idea that the world was a perfect sphere in favor of the view that, while one hemisphere was spherical, the other was distorted by a protuberance "like a woman's nipple".²² Careful examination of his extant writings, indeed, fails to produce anything like proof that he was equipped with "an adequate knowledge of geometry, geography, cosmography, astrology or astronomy, and navigation".²³ This is so even when every allowance has been made for the imperfection of the science of the period and even if every claim which he puts forward to having shown upon occasion a superiority of knowledge be fully admitted,²⁴ an admission which would certainly err on the side of generosity. It would seem that he was in reality giving a more accurate account of his own intellectual attainments when he says that he realized that it might be objected to him that he was unfitted to carry out any great work because he was "unlettered, a simple sailor, a secular man" and pleads that he was yet well fitted because God selects His own instruments.²⁵

The positive assertions of Ferdinand Columbus and Las Casas, and any claim to learning put forward by Columbus himself, cannot, in fact, be regarded as being in any sense decisive; they are far from proving that at the time of his first voyage he was even literate. Nor can such other evidence as has been adduced be considered as being really conclusive. Columbus wrote annotations upon a certain number of books, these volumes being the *Historia Rerum ubique Gestarum* of Pius II.,²⁶ the various tracts of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, generally known by the title of the first and most important among them, the *Imago Mundi*, the *Libro* of Marco Polo, the Italian translation by Landino of the *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny, and the Spanish transla-

²¹ Letter on the fourth voyage (*Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, pp. 183-184).

²² Letter on the third voyage (*Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, p. 35).

²³ *Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, p. 79; Ferdinand Columbus, c. in 4; Las Casas, I. 3.

²⁴ Cp. the example in the Journal (15 Feb. 1493), in *Rac. Col. I.*, part i, p. 109.

²⁵ Cp. *Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, p. 80. This passage occurs in the same letter as that in which he lays claim to proficiency in various branches of learning. It is, perhaps, worth noticing that he attributes the adequacy of his knowledge to divine providence.

²⁶ It has been denied that the notes on Pius II. were written by Columbus (Streicher, *Die Kolumbus-Originale*).

tion by Alonso de Palencia of Plutarch's *Lives*.²⁷ Of these annotations, by far the most important are those upon the *Imago Mundi*, a work which Columbus certainly studied with care and to which he was somewhat deeply indebted for the formation of those ideas which he expounded in his later writings. It has, indeed, been contended, on the authority of Ferdinand Columbus and Las Casas, that Pierre d'Ailly played a great part in leading him to conceive of the idea of his discovery,²⁸ and, if this be true, it follows that he must have been sufficiently literate as early as the period of his residence at Lisbon to read the book and presumably also to make notes upon it. It has accordingly been argued that it is to the period anterior to the first voyage that these notes are to be ascribed. This ascription, however, is dubiously just.

So far as the notes themselves are concerned, the only definite suggestion concerning the date at which they were composed is contained in the note in the *Imago Mundi*, which mentions the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Diaz and which begins "nota quod hoc anno de 88".²⁹ But, taking into consideration the age in which this note was written, the training and position of its author, and the character of its Latinity, it would perhaps be unwise to lay much emphasis upon the exact meaning of "hoc". It may well here imply no more than "the" or "that", and neither mean nor be intended to mean that the passage was written in the year in which the event recorded took place. It is of less value for the determination of the date of the notes written by Columbus, since it was itself the work of Bartholomew Columbus.³⁰

It has, however, been suggested that there is at least in the notes negative evidence of their date. De Lollis has pointed out that in them there is no trace of any reference to the discoveries made by Columbus himself and holds that this makes it morally certain that

²⁷ There is also a single note, consisting of the cypher of Columbus and a sentence in Latin, on the *Geographia* of Ptolemy.

²⁸ Ferdinand Columbus, c. 7. Las Casas, I., i, 11. Cp. De Lollis, "Disquisizione Critica," in his *Cristoforo Colombo*, pp. xx-xxv.

²⁹ It occurs in note 23 to the *Imago Mundi*, following the numbering of De Lollis (*Rac. Col.* I., part ii, pp. 376-377). It would seem to have been already in existence when the matter by which it is surrounded was written; that matter concerns the opinion of Esdras on the distribution of land and water.

³⁰ Cp. Las Casas, I. 27. Columbus was in Spain when Diaz returned (cp. Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes*, etc., II. 4—ed. 1825).

they must have been composed before those discoveries had been achieved.³¹ Allusion is made to the light thrown upon geographical questions by the voyages of the Portuguese, and it would appear to be no more than natural that some allusion should also have been made to the far greater light thrown upon those same questions by the voyages of Columbus himself. But when the character of the notes is considered, the argument becomes less convincing than it might appear to be.

The total number of the annotations is over two thousand five hundred. All those upon Marco Polo, Pliny, and Plutarch, which number over eight hundred, and all, except a bare eighteen, of those, numbering over sixteen hundred, upon Pius II. and Pierre d'Ailly, may be reasonably described as being in the nature of a guide to the contents of the works annotated; they add nothing to the information contained in the texts. Of the eighteen which do not bear this character, three are cross references³² and four are citations of authorities whose evidence is regarded as being relevant to the subject matter of the books.³³ Six, all of which are found in the *Historia* of Pius II., are not strictly speaking notes at all; two are obviously mere memoranda,³⁴ one is a transcript of the letter of Toscanelli to Martins,³⁵ and the other three are copies of passages from the *De Civitate Dei*, Josephus, and Ovid.³⁶ The remaining five notes refer to recent voyages. Of these, three, found in Pius II., deal with the discoveries of the Portuguese;³⁷ two of them were certainly, and the third probably, written by Bartholomew Columbus, who was also the author of a fourth note, that in the *Imago Mundi*,³⁸ concerning the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. The fifth note, written by Columbus himself, occurs in the *Epilogus Mappe Mundi*, one of the tracts of Pierre d'Ailly;³⁹ it concerns the calculation of the degree and in this connection mentions the frequent voyages of Columbus to the coast of Guinea, in the

³¹ De Lollis, "Disquisizione Critica", in his *Cristoforo Colombo*, p. xxii.

³² Notes 322, 323, and 338, to the *Imago Mundi*.

³³ Notes 22 and 855 to Pius II., and the possibly Columbian portion of note 23 to the *Imago Mundi*, and note 166 to the same work.

³⁴ Notes 859 and 861.

³⁵ Note 854.

³⁶ Notes 856, 857, and 858.

³⁷ Notes 2, 6, and 860.

³⁸ Note 23.

³⁹ Note 490.

course of which, as he states, he was able to confirm the estimate given by Alfragan.

In these circumstances, the absence of any reference to the discovery of the new world is not so surprising and hardly appears to be enough to controvert the suggestion that the notes were composed at a time when that discovery was already an accomplished fact. There would seem to have been little or no occasion for any such reference to be made. It is apparently clear that the notes were primarily designed to serve as an index and not to supplement the information contained in the books in which they were written. It is true that at first sight it might seem to be natural that, when the Portuguese voyages are mentioned, those of Columbus should also be mentioned, but that they are not is readily explicable. Of the notes in question, three, if not all four, were written by Bartholomew Columbus; they have the character of memoranda of his personal experiences and, save in the case of that which deals with the discovery of Diaz, they are definitely related to the text against which they are written. It may be added that it is by no means impossible that, when he wrote them, Bartholomew Columbus was either in England or in France and was as yet unaware of the success of his brother.^{39a} In the case of the note written by Columbus himself, it must be remembered that it has reference to a specific point and to a conclusion reached as a result of a specific experience; there is no reason to suppose that the opinion of Columbus concerning the length of the degree was in any way modified, or even notably confirmed, by his later voyages, and hence any allusion to those voyages would have been somewhat pointless.

But a further and more complete explanation of the omission of all reference to the discovery of America is possibly to be found in the ultimate purpose which those notes were designed to serve. That purpose would seem to have been somewhat neglected. Apart from Lombroso,⁴⁰ who found in them an illustration of the mental instability of their author, they have been merely regarded as aids to memory, or as an index, or as the underlining of passages by which Columbus was especially impressed. It may be admitted that they were all these things, but it may be suggested that they were compiled with a further and deeper object.

^{39a} Bartholomew did not return from his visit to England and France until after his brother had sailed on his second voyage (*cp.* Las Casas, I. 27, 101).

⁴⁰ *Nuovi Studii Sul Genio*, II. *De Colombo a Manzoni*, pp. 3-40.

It is obvious that they must be considered in conjunction with the other extant writings of Columbus, and they should perhaps be considered especially in conjunction with the *Libro de las Profecías*,⁴¹ in the compilation of which he shared and to which they seem to form the counterpart. The purpose of this book, a collection of extracts from the Vulgate and from theological writers, does not appear to be in doubt. Its keynote is to be found in the text, for which Columbus shows a special liking, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away".⁴² It is designed to show that God had said that, before the second advent, the gospel should be preached to all the world and Jerusalem "rebuilt", and that as other prophecies had been fulfilled, so this must be fulfilled and the divine word be accomplished. The instrument by whose means this accomplishment would be effected was to be, as Columbus elsewhere notes, "some Christian man",⁴³ and in his own mind he did not question that he was himself this man and that to him this mission had been confided. "Being thereunto moved, I came with His message into your royal presence", he tells Ferdinand and Isabella;⁴⁴ "God made me the messenger of the new Heaven and of the new Earth, of which He spoke in the Apocalypse, by St. John", he wrote to the nurse of prince Juan;⁴⁵ "Our Lord gave me the will to execute this undertaking. . . . Who can doubt that this was the light of the Holy Spirit, that consoled me with its rays of marvellous brightness, that to you were strong and clear? . . . A very evident miracle did Our Lord will to perform in this matter of the voyage to the Indies", he assures the sovereigns, and reminds them that if he appears to be unsuited for so great a task, "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings has He ordained strength".⁴⁶

But if the *Libro de las Profecías* were designed to show that the "enterprise of the Indies" was divinely ordained, part of an even greater enterprise, the notes would appear to be designed to show that the lands to which the Gospel was to be carried were of incalculable wealth, that they were rich in precious metals and in every gift of

⁴¹ Printed by De Lollis (*Scritti in Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, pp. 75-160).

⁴² *Cp. Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, pp. 27, 80.

⁴³ *Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, p. 202.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

nature, the true "Indies" whence Solomon had drawn gold and silver, precious stones, and spices. Religion and business went hand in hand. As Columbus declared in the letter in which he described the results of his first voyage,⁴⁷ as he wrote later to Ferdinand and Isabella,⁴⁸ from the undertaking not only great spiritual, but great temporal benefit, was to be derived. But to prove that this was indeed so, at least until indubitable evidence could be produced from the lands which he had discovered, it was necessary to cite authorities, and the annotations mark those passages in the works upon which they are made which appeared to him to be germane to this purpose. To have quoted his own discoveries would have been far less convincing, or if not less convincing, it would have been to rely solely upon experience. His case was greatly strengthened by an appeal also to those who could not be suspected of bias, to a traveler of repute, to a vicar of Christ and to a prince of the church. If this view of the purpose of the notes be just, the omission in them of reference to the discovery of America becomes perfectly natural and does nothing to prove that they were compiled before that discovery had occurred.^{48a}

There is, moreover, further ground for thinking that the notes should be assigned to a period later than that of the first voyage. There is some justification for the contention that the *Imago Mundi* was not known to Columbus when he discovered the new world, despite the fact that Las Casas and Ferdinand Columbus declare that he was influenced by Pierre d'Ailly to attempt the discovery. The work was first printed by John of Westphalia, and while the date at which it was printed has been placed as early as 1483, the character of the type has been held to show that it cannot be assigned to an earlier date than 1487, or even, perhaps, 1490. The question is one which cannot be conclusively settled, but it is obvious that in view of this doubt, it is unwise to rely upon the annotations on this work to prove that Columbus was literate at the time of his first voyage.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Rac. Col.* I., part i, p. 133.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, part ii, p. 203.

^{48a} That such notes, as are not in Latin, are in Castilian, with the exception of note 23 to Pliny, argues that they were not written at a date earlier than that of the arrival of Columbus in Spain.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the point, *cp.* Thacher (*op. cit.*, II. 341, note 2). The argument to which González de la Rosa (*La Solution de tous les Problèmes relatives à Christophe Colomb*), attaches great weight, that Bartholomew Columbus

Nor can the evidence of the *Journal* be held to show that Columbus was able to write during his first voyage. It has been asserted, and it has been more often implied, that the lost original of this work was in the handwriting of the discoverer, but there is no evidence that it was so. Columbus himself, his son, and Las Casas do, indeed, all seem to suggest that he actually wrote the *Journal*, but they do no more than suggest.⁵⁰ On the other hand, it is certain that Las Casas made his *précis* from a copy or from a copy of a copy of the original: it is morally certain that neither he nor Ferdinand Columbus ever saw the original, which was deposited in the royal archives or which was at least retained by Ferdinand and Isabella.⁵¹ There is thus nothing to prove that this original was in the autograph of Columbus, while its style, so far as it can be gathered from the extracts which are preserved, seems to suggest that it was rather written by a clerk under his general direction.

Such was at least almost certainly the case with the letter describing the results of the first voyage, usually known as the letter to the "escrimano de ración", Luis de Santangel.⁵² Here again the original has been lost and the document, in the form in which it does exist, has been subjected to some editing, the extent of which cannot be determined with any exactitude. But, unless it be supposed that the original was edited out of all recognition, it is very improbable that the letter was written by Columbus with his own hand. Its style, as has been pointed out more than once, differs greatly from that of the admitted writings of the discoverer, while the document bears in itself all the marks of having been produced by a clerk, giving literary form to materials supplied to him. Those materials could obviously have been dictated by an illiterate.

There may be finally adduced as evidence in support of the view that Columbus could write when he discovered America, two documents, the map of Española and the memorial on the needs of that

obtained the volume at a time when he was away from his brother and that hence Columbus cannot have seen it until the brothers were reunited in 1494, may be disregarded.

⁵⁰ *Journal*, prologue (*Rac. Col. I.*, part i, pp. 2-3); Ferdinand Columbus, c. 16; Las Casas, I. 35. The prologue of the *Journal* is of doubtful authenticity.

⁵¹ *Cp.* De Lollis, *Scritti*, "Illustrazione al Documento I" (*Rac. Col. I.*, part i, pp. v-xxiii).

⁵² *Rac. Col. I.*, part i, pp. 120-135.

island, both of which have been held to have been produced by his own hand and both of which have been assigned to the year 1493. The map, of which the authenticity may be admitted, despite the somewhat curious history of the document, has been declared by Herr Streicher,⁵³ in the most recent and elaborate examination of the autographs of Columbus, to be undoubtedly the work of the admiral. The date, at which it was produced, however, cannot be really determined. The absence of the name "Isabella" from it certainly suggests that it was drawn before that settlement had been founded; the appearance on it of the name "La Nativita"⁵⁴ may suggest that it was made before Columbus knew that the Spaniards whom he had left in the island had been exterminated. But the map is imperfect, and this imperfection, although it may be the result of incomplete knowledge, may equally be due to no more than the fact that it is a piece of unfinished work. There is nothing to prove that it was drawn at the date to which it has been assigned.

The date of the memorial on the needs of Española, on the contrary, has been established beyond any question by De Lollis; it was certainly drawn up in the interval between the first and second voyages. That it was in the hand of Columbus, however, is denied by Herr Streicher,⁵⁵ and from a superficial comparison of the document with others, undoubtedly in the handwriting of the admiral, it certainly appears that there is a dissimilarity between it and them.⁵⁶ Its style, moreover, is more official than is that of Columbus generally, a peculiarity which may be due to the nature of the document, but which is compatible with the supposition that it was drafted by someone acting on verbal instructions.⁵⁷

⁵³ Streicher, *op. cit.* On the back of the map there is a species of prayer that God will punish those who have defamed Columbus. The wording of this prayer is very reminiscent of passages in the "Letter to the Nurse" and in the "Letter on the Fourth Voyage", and suggests that the document should be dated *ca.*, 1500.

⁵⁴ The name appears in this Italian form, instead of as "La Navidad".

⁵⁵ Streicher, *op. cit.*, *ad finem*.

⁵⁶ The memorial is reproduced in facsimile in Thacher, *Columbus*, III. 98-99. For its date, *cp.* De Lollis, *Scritti*, "Illustrazione al Documento III" (*Rac. Col.* I., part i, pp. lxxv-lxxx).

⁵⁷ This remark applies also to the De Torres Memorandum, the only other document of this period. The original is lost, but internal evidence suggests that it was not in the handwriting of Columbus (for text, *cp.* *Rac. Col.* I., part i, pp. 270-283).

While such evidence as there is for the literacy of Columbus at the time of the discovery is thus at best inconclusive, there are certainly grounds upon which it may be argued that he was illiterate. If he were so, he was that which were also the overwhelming majority of men of his class in all lands at that period of history. He was of humble origin, and few indeed of humble origin could read or write, save such as entered the church. Illiteracy in his case is the more probable, since Domenico Colombo was often financially embarrassed,⁵⁸ and hence Columbus himself must almost certainly have been required at the first possible moment to contribute to the support of his family. It is difficult to see how either the means or the time for even a rudimentary education could have been found. The suggestion has been made that he may have been educated at the school which the weavers of Genoa established, but there is no evidence that this school was created until a time when Columbus was no longer in Italy.⁵⁹ An alternative suggestion⁶⁰ that he was taught by some learned priest is mere hypothesis, supported only by his supposed theological knowledge and his admitted piety, but the theological knowledge displayed in the *Libro de las Profecías* was probably that of Gaspar Gorricio, who collaborated in the production of the book, and as to his piety, the Genoese have ever been as religious as they have been businesslike.

At an early age, he left Italy and was thereafter either at sea or engaged in business; during this time, he can have had few or no facilities for acquiring letters. Such facilities, indeed, can hardly have been available for him until such time as he was resident in Portugal, and expounding his ideas to the Portuguese king, or until he was employed as "a hawker of printed books" in Andalusia. So much as is known, or as can be reasonably conjectured, concerning his origin and early life, then, serves to suggest that he was more prob-

⁵⁸ So much appears from the documents relating to Domenico (*cp. Rac. Col. II.*, part i). It is impossible to discuss here the arguments put forward to show that Columbus was neither an Italian nor a Genoese: it can only be remarked that it can be regarded as proved that he was an Italian, that it is morally certain that he was a Genoese, most probable that he was a native of Genoa itself and at least very probable that he was the son of that Domenico Colombo who appears in the notarial records of that city.

⁵⁹ Harris, *op. cit.*, I. 246-247. The school is first mentioned in a document of 1486.

⁶⁰ Thacher, *op. cit.*, I. 287-288.

ably illiterate than literate. That, whether or no he could read in the days before the discovery, he at least could not write, is more forcibly suggested by certain admitted facts.

It is a peculiar circumstance, which has been often remarked, that in his extant letters, even when those letters were addressed to Italians, Columbus never makes use of the Italian language.⁶¹ That he did not do so can be reasonably explained only upon one or other of two assumptions, either that he had lost a faculty which he once possessed or that he never possessed this faculty. Of these two assumptions, the first is so little probable that it may be rejected. Columbus was, at least in all probability, connected with an Italian business house after he left Genoa and the advantage of being able to correspond with his principals in their own language would have been too great for him to have neglected it; he was never disposed to disregard considerations of material advantage. Both in Lisbon and in Spain, he was brought into contact with Italians,⁶² by intercourse with whom he might have been expected to maintain his knowledge of the language, if such knowledge were literary, if it were more than a mere capacity for talking that Genoese dialect, to which he was accustomed in childhood and which to natives of other parts of the peninsula was hardly less a foreign tongue than were Portuguese and Castilian. It seems therefore to follow that Columbus never wrote Italian because he was never able to do so. This inability again argues that his education had been imperfect and that when he left Genoa, he was at the least to some extent illiterate.

A further suggestion of such illiteracy is contained in the fact that, throughout his life, Columbus steadily abstained from signing his name. In place of doing so, even when he was undoubtedly well able to write and even when an official document was in question, he made use of his well-known cypher. This peculiarity has been vari-

⁶¹ Among his undoubted letters, there are three addressed to Italian correspondents, in addition to the letter to Alexander VI. In the *Libro de las Profecías* there is one note in Italian, but there is nothing to show that it was the composition of Columbus. The notes in the Italian translation of Pliny are all written in Castilian, except two which are in Latin and one [No. 23] which is a kind of Italian, so barbarous that it might be better described as the "lengua franca" of Mediterranean sailors.

⁶² There were many Genoese in Lisbon, as well as other Italians, on account of trade connections. In Spain, among others, Columbus knew Peter Martyr Angleria.

ously explained as a mere exhibition of playfulness, as evidence of insanity, of piety, or of mysticism, as proving that the name by which he was known was not his true name, or as being due to a desire on his part to use his full title in an abbreviated form. Whatever validity there may be in all or in any of these explanations, it is at least reasonable to suggest that some such device might well have been adopted by a man who was wholly or partially illiterate. Such a man would have originally used an X as a signature; in the case of Columbus, this sign had the advantage of being the Greek initial of his prenomén. It can be easily understood that, when he began gradually to acquire letters, he should prefer rather to develop the original X than to form an immature signature.⁶³ By so doing, he concealed, or at least avoided emphasizing, his former illiteracy, which the production of an imperfectly written signature would have almost underlined. The cypher, as devised, has also certain advantages. It was obviously more easy for him to trace unconnected letters than to write connected words, while the mingling in it of Greek and Latin characters might serve to suggest that, so far from being unlearned, he was acquainted with both those languages. The employment of a cypher, apparently mystical and apparently indicative of learning, is indeed precisely what might have been expected from a man who was eager to hide the fact that he was relatively illiterate and who was later not less eager to hide the fact that he had ever been illiterate at all.

If there are thus reasons for thinking that, when he left Italy, Columbus could not write, there are also reasons for thinking that he continued to be unable to do so until a relatively late period in his life.⁶⁴ It is significant that, during the whole course of his negotiations with Ferdinand and Isabella, down to the time of his first voyage, he would seem to have committed nothing to writing. The *Book of Privileges* shows that Columbus was almost exaggeratedly careful to preserve every document which touched, even indirectly, upon his

⁶³ It has been held that the appearance of an "x" on documents proves their Columbian authorship, but Herr Streicher (*op. cit.*) has shown that this is not so.

⁶⁴ No importance can be attached to the fact that there is no evidence that Columbus could write Portuguese. No documents, dating from the period of his residence in Portuguese dominions, have been preserved, and in later life Columbus would appear to have had no occasion to use the Portuguese language in letters or papers.

rights.⁶⁵ It appears to be certain that had anything in writing, relating to this critical period of his life, existed, he would have jealously guarded a copy. More especially, he might have been expected to have retained some record of the demands which he addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella. Those demands, however, are represented only by a copy of the *Capitulations*, to which the sovereigns eventually agreed at Santa Fé, and this copy was made from another copy of the original, dating from after the discovery.⁶⁶

It is a further point of some importance that in the last stage of the negotiations, Columbus took no personal part, Fray Juan Pérez acting on his behalf.⁶⁷ For this retirement into the background there must have been some relatively strong reason, and if he were indeed illiterate, the reason is at once obvious. This was precisely the time when his demands had necessarily to be put in writing. That this is the true explanation is the more probable because, when Columbus was certainly able to write, he wrote so much and so often that his *cacothetes scribendi* passed into a proverb;⁶⁸ he exhibited all that fondness for using his pen which he might have been expected to exhibit if the power to use it had been recently acquired.

This is not the only circumstance which seems to argue that such knowledge as he did possess was gained somewhat late in life. In his extant letters, dating from the time of his third and fourth voyages, he makes just that parade of learning which might be expected from one who was imperfectly educated. He delights in enumerating the names of authors, as if he had actually read them and with the almost obvious intention of creating the impression that he had done so. His information is undigested, with the result that he can make no clear use of it; his thought is as confused, as his literary style is labored

⁶⁵ Printed in *Rac. Col.* II., part ii. Cp. also, *Christopher Columbus; His Own Book of Privileges* (ed. Benjamin Franklin Stevens).

⁶⁶ Probably from that made by Almazán, and preserved in the *Libro-Registro de la Corona de Aragón*. This copy has been erroneously supposed to be the original document, but the internal evidence of the document itself proves conclusively that it was a copy made after the return of Columbus in 1493 (cp. *Geographical Journal* [London], January 1929).

⁶⁷ Any suggestion that Columbus was diffident concerning his own power of negotiating may be dismissed. For the part played by Fray Juan Pérez, cp. Duchess of Berwick and Alba, *Autógrafos de Colón*.

⁶⁸ "As fond of writing as that Columbus who discovered the Indies", was a remark made by the court jester of Charles V.

and obscure.⁶⁹ The character of his Latinity indicates that it was only when he had already reached maturity that he became acquainted with Latin. Not only does he exhibit something akin to contempt for all grammatical rules, but he further not infrequently employs the Castilian derivative for the Latin original.⁷⁰ It is noteworthy that even when writing to the pope,⁷¹ he employs Castilian, and although it is true that Alexander VI. was a native of the Iberian Peninsula, he was not a native of Castile, and it would seem that mere courtesy to the vicar of Christ would have led Columbus to address him in the language of the church, had he been able to do so. Since in that age, Latin was the necessary basis of all learning, there is thus strong reason for thinking that Columbus acquired his knowledge, including his Latin, at a time when he was in Spain or in a Spanish atmosphere.

It may be questioned whether that time is to be found earlier than a period after he had completed his second voyage. That fondness which he displays for giving the meanings of words which he uses, and which he shows as late as the time of his third voyage, suggests that he was in the process of acquiring learning. It was not actually necessary for him to explain to Ferdinand and Isabella that "mar" implies a larger expanse of water than "lago".⁷² It is probably to the period at which Columbus was his guest that Bernáldez was referring when he remarked that the discoverer had "little book learning". Inability to write at the time of his departure on his second voyage is also indicated by another fact. When discussions began with the Portuguese concerning the interpretation of the Bull of Alexander VI., Ferdinand and Isabella wrote to Columbus,⁷³ regretting that he

⁶⁹ On this, *op. especially, Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, pp. 35-39, 175-205. It must be admitted that the letter on the fourth voyage was written at a time of great mental distress, but this does not apply to that on the third voyage, which has the same characteristics.

⁷⁰ *E.g.* "sabios" for "sapientes", "fluvios" for "fluvii", etc. He constantly uses the accusative for the nominative, in cases where that accusative is the Castilian word. On one occasion he makes use of "habet" in the exact sense of the Castilian "hay". The object of his verbs is constantly in the nominative case: a plural subject is constantly followed by a singular verb.

⁷¹ Printed in *Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, pp. 164-166.

⁷² "A lake is a small expanse of water; when it becomes great, it deserves the name 'sea', as we speak of the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea." (*Rac. Col. I.*, part ii, p. 39.)

⁷³ Navarrete, *op. cit.*, II. 154.

was not present and inviting him to express his opinion on the points at issue. The nature of those points was known before Columbus sailed,⁷⁴ and hence he might have left a written opinion, which he could have foreseen would be of value to the sovereigns.

To assert with anything like dogmatism that Columbus was illiterate in 1492 would be to make an assertion that cannot be proved. It is, however, legitimate to say that his literacy has been somewhat too readily assumed. It is, perhaps, possible to go further and to say that the balance of probability is in favor of the view that at that date he was unable to write and that he acquired that ability in the period between the discovery and the year 1497, at which date he could certainly write since an undoubted autograph of that year is preserved. The fact that there was a very marked similarity between the handwriting of Columbus and that of his brother, Bartholomew, may suggest that it was by that brother, or by his two brothers, that he was taught. The two years, which elapsed between the arrival of Bartholomew in Española and the departure of Columbus for Spain, after the mission of Juan Aguado, would have been time enough for the art to have been acquired by any man of "great natural intelligence", while the power of application of Columbus may be readily admitted and the inducement for him to learn is obvious. It is, moreover, known that both his brothers were relatively educated; Las Casas states that Bartholomew was an expert map-drawer, while Diego wished to enter the church and even aspired to become a bishop. In this period of his life, then, in Española, when the three brothers were together, and perhaps at no earlier period, Columbus had both the time and the opportunity to acquire those "rudiments of letters" which he certainly did not acquire at the University of Pavia.

CECIL JANE.

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Wellesley, Massachusetts.

The Institute of Politics held annually at Williamstown, Massachusetts, opened for its tenth session on July 31 of this year and closed on August 28. Each Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday of the session, conferences were held on Pan-American Problems under the leadership of Professor Jesse S. Reeves, of the University of Michigan.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-109.

The Seventh Commonwealth Conference was held on June 30 and July 1 and 2, 1930, at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, the subject of the conference being "The Political Issues of 1930". The program was published in the *Bulletin of the State University of Iowa*, for June 28, 1930 (new series, No. 565). Two of the sections were "Pan American Arbitration", and "Intervention in the Caribbean".

The Institute of Public Affairs met in session at the University of Virginia August 3-16, 1930. A Round-Table Conference was conducted under the leadership of Professor Clarence H. Haring of Harvard University.

A new organization called the "Geographic and Historical Society of the Americas" has quite recently been formed in Washington, D. C. Those chartering the Society are M. W. Stirling, Henry Grattan Doyle, and George H. Girty, all names of well-known professional men. The charter states that

The particular business and objects of the Society are educational, and

To gather and disseminate information of sufficient interest as contributing to a wider appreciation of Inter-American relations;

To stimulate interest in the resources, developments, and achievements, economic and cultural, of the American countries;

To cultivate this interest actively through the medium of a monthly publication, *The Pan American Magazine*, a periodical now in its thirtieth year adopted as the official organ of the Society;

To create in an ever-widening circle of membership an ever-increasing audience for the message of good will that unfolds with acquaintanceship and understanding.

The by-laws of the Society state that:

The members of the Society shall be those whose names appear as incorporators on the certificate of incorporation, and any other person whom they may elect or the Board of Trustees may elect or the Society may elect.

The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Board of Trustees composed of not more than five members for the first year, and not more than fifteen thereafter. The members of the Society at its organization meeting shall elect not exceeding five trustees. The trustees shall serve for an indefinite term at the pleasure of the Board. Vacancies on the Board and new members to the Board after the expiration of the first year shall be filled by election by the Board of Trustees.

The Board of Trustees shall have authority to organize committees, and do every other act not inconsistent with the purpose of the Society and not inconsistent with these By-Laws.

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, or Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, each having the power and duties usually incident to his office. They shall be elected by the Board of Trustees either from among their number or members of the Society, and they shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected. The Board of Trustees may elect other officers and prescribe their duties.

No member of the Board of Trustees while remaining a member of said Board shall receive any compensation from the Society.

The Board of Trustees consists of Matthew W. Stirling, Chief Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution; Henry Grattan Doyle, Professor of Romance Languages, George Washington University; George H. Girty, Geologist, U. S. Geological Survey; Paul Forrest Myers, Attorney, Washington, D. C.; and William M. Williams, Attorney, Washington, D. C. Henry Grattan Doyle is the consulting editor of *The Pan American Magazine*; Dr. William Bowie, Chief, Division of Geodesy, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Professor Coester, of Stanford University, and James Alexander Robertson are associate editors; William W. Rasor, managing editor; and L. E. Elliott, contributing editor. The first number of the magazine under its new management has already appeared.

Dr. Fidelino Figueiredo, of Lisbon, is to visit the United States during the second half of 1930, where he is to lecture on historical subjects before a number of educational institutions.

Professor W. W. Pierson, Jr., gave a number of lectures in various points in the west during the early summer of 1930. He has been acting dean of the graduate school of the University of North Carolina for some time, and has just recently been made Dean.

Professor Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California, at Berkeley, has recently returned from a trip to Cuba.

Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven, of the University of Pittsburgh, has been appointed Research Associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington to make a study of the constitutional organization of the republic of Bolivia. Professor Cleven gave three courses at the University of Pittsburgh during the summer session, namely, a course on the colonial period, one on the modern period, and one on the history of Hispanic American civilization.

Professor Arthur P. Whitaker has completed his work on a volume which he has edited for the Florida State Historical Society, namely, "The Spanish Trade Policy in Florida". This will be published probably in 1931. Professor Whitaker has accepted a call to Cornell University.

Miss Stella Risley Clemence, of the Library of Congress, will edit a volume for the Florida State Historical Society. This will consist of an expediente of 1602, relative to the proposition to abandon the Spanish settlements in Florida.

Dr. Irving A. Leonard, of the University of California at Berkeley, has been granted leave of absence for a year, which will be spent in Spain making investigations in the archives of that country. He has been given a grant in aid by the Council of Learned Academies. Dr. Leonard will edit a volume for the Florida State Historical Society, which will consist of hitherto unpublished manuscripts touching the survey of Pensacola Harbor by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora.

REFORMS IN SHELVING AND NUMBERING IN THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS

In preparation for the Ibero-American Exposition, the Archivo General de Indias,¹ at Seville, effected some very important changes in the shelving and numbering of the legajos deposited in it. For carrying out these changes which serve to facilitate greatly the handling of the documents of the archives, the archival authorities and especially D. Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata, the director, are to be congratulated by all students who have occasion to make use of this wonderful collection of documents.

In order to protect better the documents and to make the legajos more readily accessible, a special folder was made, consisting of stiff, cloth covered cardboard sides, the size of the Spanish *pliego* of paper, with a flexible cloth back holding them together at one edge and flexible cloth flaps for the other three sides. On the open edges of the sides, tapes are inserted for the purpose of fastening the folder around the legajo. These folders were made in various thicknesses of backs so as to accommodate legajos of various sizes. The flexible back serves to carry the name of the section and the number of the legajo. On the upper floor of the archives, additional shelves were placed in the sections of the stacks (*estantes*), so that the space between shelves is just right to admit pliego-size documents standing on end. In the lower floor new steel cases, specially designed and made, were installed with the same spacing between the shelves. The result is that a legajo standing on the shelf now has the appearance of a large book.

¹ For more complete description of the Archivo General de Indias see:

Roscoe R. Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archivo General de Indias* (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916). Introduction.

W. R. Shepherd, *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives* (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1907).

Pedro Torres Lanzas, *Archivo General de Indias*, in Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Guía Histórica y Descriptiva de los Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos Arqueológicos de España* (Madrid, 1916).

This change in the shelving and the system of wrapping the legajos having been accomplished, practically a complete redesignation and renumbering of the legajos was made. In this reform the old system of three numbers—viz.: estante 37, cajón 1, legajo 59/20, 52-1-1/32, 86-6-18, as an indication of a legajo—was done away with and in its place the identification of the legajo now consists of the section name and one number, *i.e.*, the three legajos cited above become respectively, Contratación 4397; Justicia 1051; and Santo Domingo 2554. That is the twelve sections of the archives have been retained as formerly and within each the legajos have been consecutively numbered from one upward.

In section 5, Audiencias and Indiferente General, however, there is a separate series of numbers for each of the audiencias and for Indiferente General, into which this section is divided. Also in this section the legajos of each audiencia are now all placed together on the shelves instead of being in two groups as formerly. In the case of section 6, Escribanía de Cámara, the various series of legajos indicated in the indexes have been rearranged so that the audiencias occur in the same order as in section 5, and the legajos have all been consecutively numbered.

Many of the original legajos were very large and unwieldy. These have been divided into two or more parts, all bearing the same number, but distinguished by letters, viz.: Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1502 A, 1502 B. Hence the actual number of bundles is much in excess of the totals shown in the table, which is the number of original legajos.

To call for a legajo for use in the archives, it is necessary to use the section name and the new number, and consequently in making citations to documents in the archives care should be taken to give the section names as well as the number. The new numbers have been placed in the existing inventories, so that both the old and the new designations are at hand in the inventories corresponding to the various sections. As yet the practice as to the use of the new designation alone or in combination with the old numbering is not determined. A recent publication prepared by the archival corps² uses only the new indications, while a catalogue published by the Instituto Hispano-

² Personal Facultativo del Archivo General de Indias, *Catálogo de Pasajeros á Indias durante los siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII*, volumen I (1509-1533), (Madrid, 1930).

Cubano de Historia de América³ gives both the new and the old designations. Although the new system has far greater simplicity than the old, still scholars will have to determine whether it is necessary to continue to use the old designation in addition to the new in their work.

It is not possible in a brief space to give a complete indication of the corresponding new and old designations of the legajos of the archives. The following table, however, will indicate in a general way the old series and the corresponding new designations of the legajos.

No.	Title of Section ^a	Dates	Old Numbering	New Numbering	Total Original Legajos
1.	Patronato	15th-18th centuries	1-1-1 to 2-6-19 and 1-1-unico	1-294	294
2.	Contaduría	1514-1778	1-1-1 to 11-6-2/45	1-1953 ^s	1953
3.	Contratación	1492-1795	12-1-1 to 46-6-1/51	1-5873 ^s	5875
4.	Justicia	1515-1644	47-1-1 to 52-6-1/39	1-1187	1187
5.	Audiencias and Indiferente General	16th-19th centuries			
	Santo Domingo		53-1-1 to 58-2-17 78-2-1 to 87-4-17	1-867 868-2691 ^r	2690
	Mexico		58-2-18 to 63-5-37 87-5-1 to 99-7-43	1-1063 1064-3204 ^s	3204
	Guatemala		63-6-1 to 66-5-9 100-1-I to 103-2-8	1-385 386-972 ^o	972
	Guadalajara		66-5-10 to 67-5-38 103-3-1 to 105-1-28	1-229 230-590 ¹⁰	591
	Filipinas		67-6-1 to 69-2-10 105-2-1 to 108-7-28	1-328 329-1072 ¹¹	1073
	Panama		69-2-11 to 69-6-73 109-1-1 to 109-6-18	1-228 229-382	382
	Lima		70-1-1 to 72-3-5 109-7-1 to 116-1-20	1-564 565-1637 ¹²	1638
	Cuzco		116-2-1 to 116-4-27	1-82 ¹³	81
	Santa Fe		72-3-6 to 74-3-24 116-5-1 to 120-3-21	1-527 528-1261 ¹⁴	1264
	Charcas		74-3-25 to 76-5-40 120-4-1 to 122-2-15	1-414 415-736 ¹⁵	738
	Buenos Aires		122-3-1 to 125-7-16	1-620	620

³ José M. Ots Capdequi, ed., *Catálogo de los Fondos Cubanos del Archivo General de Indias*, Tomo. I de las Publicaciones del Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América (Madrid, 1930).

Quito	76-5-41 to 77-4-27	1-208	
	126-1-1 to 128-3-14	209-608 ¹⁰	609
Chile	77-4-28 to 78-1-62	1-164	
	128-4-1 to 130-1-32	165-472	472
Caracas	130-3-1 to 136-2-7	1-976 ¹¹	977
Indiferente			
General ¹²	136-4-1 to 155-5-12	1-3115	3115
6. Escribanía de			
Cámara	1600-1750 various ²⁰	1-1194	1194
7. Juzgado de			
Arribadas ²⁰	18th century	1-369	369
8. Papeles de Correos	1764-1825 1-784	1-784	784
9. Papeles de Estado	1686-1860 various ²¹	1-105	195
10. Papeles de Ultramar ²²	1605-1868 1-880	1-880	880
11. Papeles de Cuba	1767-1865 1-2375	1-2375	2375
12. Papeles de Cádiz	1600-1850 unnumbered (about)		1610
			19
Total original legajos.....			35052

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Seville, Spain.

* For origin of the papers in each section and the date of the accession to the Archivo de Indias see Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. ix.

⁵ Legajos 635 (3-6-49/27), 700 (4-3-44/7), 741 (4-4-85/18), 791 (4-6-135/8), 792 (4-6-136/9), 793 (4-6-137/10), 804 (4-6-148/21), and 950 (5-6-10/12) were destroyed in the fire of 1924.

* Nos. 4035, 4170, and 4175 are each assigned to two legajos; no. 5383 is not used in the series.

⁷ Nos. 1598 and 1602 are each assigned to two legajos; nos. 145, 1311, and 2409 are assigned to the same legajo as the number preceding them.

⁸ No. 1148 is assigned to two legajos; nos. 1667 and 1668 are assigned to the same legajo.

⁹ No. 151 is assigned to two legajos; no. 597 is not assigned.

¹⁰ No. 281 is assigned to two legajos.

¹¹ No. 408 is assigned to two legajos.

¹² No. 179 is assigned to two legajos.

¹³ Nos. 61 and 62 are assigned to the same legajo.

¹⁴ Nos. 417, 471, and 663 are each assigned to two legajos.

¹⁵ Nos. 437, 447, and 728 are each assigned to two legajos; nos. 82 and 83 are assigned to the same legajo.

¹⁶ No. 20 is assigned to two legajos.

¹⁷ One legajo has no new number assigned; the legajos of this audiencia have not been placed in the new folders.

¹⁸ Not yet placed in folders nor shelved in new system.

²⁰ The old classification of this section was by districts with usually four classes of legajos, viz.: pleitos, residencias, comisiones, and visitas, each with its own series of numbers for the district. For example, the district of Santo Domingo included, Pleitos, legajos nos. 1-10; Residencias, legajos nos. 1-6; Comisiones, legajos nos. 1-15; Visitas, legajos nos. 1-4. The first 951 legajos of this section are catalogued under the following districts: Santo Domingo, Havana, Porto Rico, Margarita, Florida, Jamaica, Mexico, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, Guatamala, Manila, Panama, Lima, Cartagena, Popayan, Cumana and Caracas, Santa Marta, Santa Fe, La Plata, Potosí, Tucumán, Buenos Ayres, Quito, Chile, and Canarias. The remaining legajos are classified under the headings Consejo de Indias, Casa de Contratación, Consulado de Cádiz, and Sentencias.

²⁰ Not classified nor numbered; not yet placed in folders nor shelved in new system.

²¹ The older system of numbering the Papeles de Estado was a series for each Audiencia.

²² This total is the exact number of original legajos in the archives, except for the estimate of the number in section 12. For earlier estimates of the number of legajos see Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. vii, ix; and C. E. Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias*, p. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST RELATIVE TO SIMÓN BOLÍVAR, THE LIBERATOR

This list, which was compiled in the Library of the Pan American Union, includes a fairly complete catalogue of books and periodical material relating to the great liberator, Simón Bolívar, not only existing in the Library of the Pan American Union, but those listed under "Bolívar" in the public card catalogue of the Library of Congress as well as entries in which Bolívar is mentioned in the *Bibliografía Venezolanista*, by Manuel Segundo Sánchez (Caracas, 1914). The titles from the Library of Congress and from Dr. Sánchez's work, not in the Library of the Pan American Union, are marked by an asterisk.

In compiling this bibliographical list, no attempt has been made to exhaust the subject, and no comments have been made to the titles, valuable as that might be, but rather to supply a practical working list of material that may be consulted without great difficulty and which will serve the present needs of students and others who desire more than a short reading list. A copy of the list has been sent to Venezuela with the request that all additional titles in that country be added, so that the definitive list with those additions and those that might be made elsewhere may be published. Strange as it might appear there is yet no adequate bibliographical compilation on the Liberator.¹

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¹ The list as issued by the Pan American Union in mimeographed form is "Bibliographical Series", No. 1.

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NOTES

In 1929, the Library of Congress issued through the Government Printing Office an extract from the report of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, chief of the Division of Manuscripts. This is entitled *Division of Manuscripts 1928-1929 and European Historical Mission*. Much of the extract is of interest to the student of Hispanic American history.

The Argonaut Press, of London, has recently published a volume by Professor Cecil Jane, entitled *The Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. This will be reviewed in a later issue of the REVIEW.

Number LXIX of the monograph series being published by the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the University of Buenos Aires (see this REVIEW, X. No. 1, pp. 108-110) is *Ensayo sobre el Río de la Plata y la Revolución Francesa*, by the Secretary of the Institute, Sr. Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois. It is a meticulously documented essay of about a hundred pages, followed by a bibliography and 131 pages of appended sources. Sr. Caillet-Bois traces the influence of the French Revolution upon the provinces of the Río de la Plata from 1789 to 1800, with especial attention to the means taken to prevent the diffusion of subversive French ideas, and the concern of the authorities over rumored conspiracies by French and other foreign residents of the viceroyalty. The influence of the French Revolution upon the

Spanish-American colonies and the rising spirit of revolt is a subject about which there has been much generalization, but little intensive research. The contribution of Sr. Caillet-Bois is therefore doubly welcome.

C. H. H.

No. 33 of the series "Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano (Mexico, 1930), has just appeared. This is entitled *El Empréstito de México a Colombia*, and consists of a collection of documents with an introduction and annotations by Joaquín Ramírez Cavañas. This notable series is a credit to the genius of its director, Secretary Genaro Estrada.

The Tipografía Nacional of Guatemala, has issued (1930), a history of printing in Guatemala by Victor Miguel Diaz. This is entitled *Historia de la Imprenta en Guatemala desde los Tiempos de la Colonia hasta la Época actual*. The volume is well illustrated, and reproduces several title pages of early works. It will be mentioned more fully in a succeeding issue of this REVIEW.

Miguel Ángel Asturias and J. M. González de Mendoza have translated into Spanish the volume on pre-Spanish Guatemala written in French by Professor Georges Raynaud, director of studies on the religions of pre-Columbian America in the school of High Studies in Paris. Both translators were students of the author and translated the work in 1925 and 1926 while studying under him. The Spanish title of the volume (published by the Editorial Paris-America, in 1927) is *Los Dioses, los Héroes y los Hombres de Guatemala antigua o El Libro del Consejo, Popol-Vuh de los Indios Quichés* (pp. XLVIII, 147). This interesting volume presents material as follows: Nota preliminar de los traductores; Introducción; Pequeño Vocabulario de Nombres sagrados; El Libro del Consejo; Explicación de las ilustraciones; Extracto de *Los Anales de los Xahil*; Extractos del *Título de los Señores de Totonicapan*; Nota sobre la *Historia de la Gentilidad Americana*; and Nota sobre la Corrección del Calendario. In making the translation, the translators had a two-fold object: (a) To supply the lack of a translation of the Popul-Vuh in Spanish which would rectify the errors of the translations by Ximénez and Gavarrete, and which presents this remarkable "bible" of Middle America (includ-

ing South Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America) with scientific annotation for the better understanding of the text; and (b) in this way to aid students of this important document or those who are simply curious regarding it. The former faulty Spanish editions have become very scarce. The Scherzer edition of Vienna (1857) of the translation by Fray Francisco Ximénez—of very little value scientifically—has become a bibliographical rarity. The translation by Justo Gavarrere, which was made from the French version of Abbot Brasseur de Bourbourg (published in *El Educacionista de Guatemala*, 1894-1896, and the edition edited by Santiago I. Barberena, San Salvador, 1905) is also scarce. A recent reprint of this (Mérida, Yucatan, 1924), is typographically poor and not only reproduces the old errors of Brasseur de Bourbourg, but makes new errors. The present translation has been carefully revised by Professor Raynaud. His method of translation has been carefully copied in the translation into Spanish, *i.e.*, word for word, literally as in the original, thus preserving the style of the original Quiché. Undoubtedly this is the best version of the work yet to appear. The annotations are excellent. This information is taken from the introduction by the translators of this work. The Popul-Vuh is a remarkable collection of origins, folklore, and beliefs of the Quiché Indians. It should be compared with some of the investigations published by the United States Government of the Indians of the United States.

Dr. Fidelino de Figueiredo, of Portugal, has added to his many volumes a new one entitled *Historia d'um "Vencido da Vida"* (Lisboa, Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira). This is a biography of J. P. d'Oliveira Martins, the Portuguese historian. Senhor Figueiredo treats his subject in eight chapters in addition to a preface, as follows: O ponto de vista peninsular na historiographia e na politica; Vida de Oliveira Martins; Personalidade de Oliveira Martins; Trabalhos juvenis; A carreira de historiador; Oliveira Martins e a Hespanha; Conclusão; and Subsídio para a bibliographia sobre Oliveira Martins.

Among recent theses written in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Catholic University of America are the following: *Church and State in Visigothic Spain*, by the Rev. Aloysius K. Zeigler, M.A., S.T.L., priest of the

archdiocese of Milwaukee, and *Political Nativism in Texas, 1825-1860*, by Sister Paul of the Cross McGrath, M.A., of the Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Texas.

Among recent pamphlets issued by the Pan American Union are the following: *Mexico* (American Nation Series, No. 13); *Buenos Aires, Metropolis of the Southern Hemisphere* (The American City Series, No. 1-A); *The Nitrate Fields of Chile* (3d ed.; Commodities of Commerce Series, No. 11) and *Rubber* (same series No. 15).

Sr. Roberto Andrade read a paper before the Academia de la Historia de Cuba, on June 4, 1930, in commemoration of the death of the Marshal of Ayacucho. This paper, entitled *Antonio José de Sucre* has been printed (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1930).

J. Halle, Antiquariat, of Munich, in his Katalog 70, of *Neue Zeitungen Relationen, Flugschriften, Flugblätter, Einblattdrucke von 1470 bis 1820* (1929, 404 pp.), gives a number of titles relating to Hispanic America.

The California Historical Society in its *Quarterly* has published in various instalments H. R. Wagner's "Spanish voyages to the Northwest Coast in the Sixteenth Century". This work is now completed and has been published in book form, but the author has made some revision since the first publication. The book will be noticed at length in a future issue of the REVIEW. Mr. Wagner has long been interested in early voyages to the west coast. In July, of 1923, appeared "The Voyage of Pedro de Unamuno to California in 1587"; in April, 1924, "The Voyage to California of Sebastian Rodríguez Cermeño in 1595"; in July, 1928, "The Occupation of the Philippines, and the Discovery of the Return Route"; in September, 1928, "The Voyage of Francisco de Mendaña", "Juan de la Isla and Francisco Gali", and "The Antecedents of Vizcaino's Voyage"; in December, 1928 and March, 1929, "Account of Vizcaino's Voyage"; and in March, 1929, "The Project to settle Monterey", "The Bolaños-Ascension Derrotero", and "Conclusion". These correspond respectively (with revisions) to chapters VIII, IX, V, VI, VII, X, XI, and XII, and Appendix G of the book. In 1926, Mr. Wagner read a paper before the American Antiquarian Society on "Some Imaginary

California Geography''. This was published in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1926.

The first number of *The Pan American Magazine* (July, 1930, Vol. XVIII, No. 1) to be published under the auspices of the Geographical and Historical Society of the Americas, contains the following articles: "The President-elect of Brazil"; "Colombia's President-elect", by Gaston Nerval; "Civilian Government in Mexico", by G. B. Winton; "Central America, twenty years ago and now", by W. W. Rasor; "The Eighteenth Century in the Capital of a Spanish Colony", by Helen Douglas-Irvine; "A Trip into the Tierra Caliente of Mexico", by John Smallwood; "The American Club of Guatemala City", by H. L. Gueydan; "Financing Highway Construction in the Latin Americas" (Part IV); "The Oldest University in America", by C. E. Castaneda; "Our Pan American Neighbors"; "The Americas promote shopping at Home", by Simon J. Lubin; "The Morning-Star of South American Emancipation, a review of Robertson's *Life of Miranda*", by W. W. Pierson, Jr. Under its new management, the magazine is planning a definite cultural program.

The Secretaría de Educación Pública (Mexico) as No. 4 of its Volume XXI (1929), published an article entitled "Campaña antialcoholica en los ejidos y centros agrarios", by Pedro Muro, of the Escuela Libre de Derecho. This is a small pamphlet of six pages. The same department has published other items of the same nature.

The Secretaría also publishes the organ *El Sembrador*, an illustrated magazine, which is distributed free. This organ is devoted to education and kindred matters.

The Trens Agency of Mexico City publishes daily a small type-written sheet which is known as the *Mexican Daily News*. This is edited by Julio Trens. The sheet is known also as the "Trens News Service", and is intended as "News for Newspapers". The copies reaching the United States are in English, and all items are for immediate release.

A new bibliographical paper, namely, *Lecturas Boletín Bibliográfico*, made its appearance in Mexico, in December, 1929. The director

of the new periodical is A. Pérez Mendoza, and its editor, Luis Quiros Presa. From an examination of the first number, one would gather that the paper has little to offer its public.

The "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana", by Heloise H. Cruzat, and "Index to Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana", by Laura L. Porteous, are continued in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, for July, 1930 (XIII, No. 3). The editor, Henry P. Dart, has an article in the same number entitled "A criminal trial before the Superior Council of Louisiana, in May, 1747". This is accompanied by the documents in the case.

The June (1930) issue of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* is an "Homage to Sucre, Grand Marshal of Ayacucho". The July issue is "Homage to Uruguay".

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